
9 999999 027155



Shams-ul-Ullema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A.

INDO-IRANIAN STUDIES,

BEING COMMEMORATIVE PAPERS

CONTRIBUTED BY

EUROPEAN, AMERICAN AND INDIAN SCHOLARS

IN HONOUR OF

SHAMS-UL-ULLEMA DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO

LEIPZIG.

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

1925

Printed by B. Miller, Superintendent, British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.
Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

Prof. WILHELM GEIGER'S LETTER.

To

Shams-ul-Ullema DASTUR DARAB
PESHOTAN SANJANA, B.A.

My Dear Dastur,

The present (commemorative) volume is edited by your friends and admirers. As I hope that you will kindly count me among them, I am very sorry that, owing to various circumstances, I was not able to contribute to it a paper as a token of my high veneration for the eminent Avesta and Pahlavi scholar, and of my grateful friendly feelings for the learned translator of my German book on the "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times." May you, Shams-ul-Ullema, shine still many years on the Parsi community in India as well as on those who are interested in Iranian studies all over the world. With best greetings and wishes.

München, Germany,
14th February 1924.

Sincerely yours,
WILH. GEIGER.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

SHAMS UL ULLEMA DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, B A, J P

BY

PROF A V WILLIAMS JACKSON

'Not a few distinguished fathers have had distinguished sons' is an old saying, and the Parsi Community of Bombay is happy in being able to add a further illustration of this proverb by pointing to noteworthy examples in the families of their own priests

In 1904 a band of Western scholars joined in contributing a series of articles for a volume prepared in memory of the late Shams ul-Ullema Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, M A, Ph D, whose name is well remembered Now, twenty years later, a felicitous occasion arises for friends again to unite in bringing forward a dedicatory volume—this time in honour of the Dastur's noted son, the distinguished High Priest and scholar, whose name graces the title-page of this collection of monographs They do this heartily as a token of esteem and as a mark of appreciation of his work

Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana's position in his high office of prelate and as a scholarly interpreter of the Zoroastrian Religion is too well known to require a detailed record here But I take this opportunity, as one of his oldest friends, to make at least some brief reference to his career and accomplishments He comes of the worthiest stock, and the blood of a priestly line flows in his veins from an ancestry that points back to the ancient settlement at Sanjan, where the Zoroastrians

who emigrated from Persia to India, centuries ago, found shelter and full freedom to worship their God, Ahura Mazda.

Dastur Darab was born in Bombay 18th November, 1857; so the City of the Beautiful Harbour may justly honour him as a son, while he owes to it in return both his education and his distinguished position. Darab's early scholastic training was received in the Elphinstone and Proprietary High Schools; his higher education was gained at Elphinstone College, from which he was graduated in 1880 with the B.A. degree. A priest by vocation, he was likewise a scholar at heart, and this fact led him to continue his studies for several years at the Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy Zartoshti Madressa, doing advanced work in Avestan and Pahlavi. His proficiency in these subjects received special recognition at the hands of the Madressa authorities, who awarded him a Fellowship and a gold medal. Two years later the University of Bombay also honoured him with one of its Fellowships, appointing him likewise as an Examiner in Persian, adding Avestan and Pahlavi afterwards to the list; and he has long kept up this connection with the University examinations.

Besides carrying on his educational work at that period and fulfilling the duties of his religious office, he found time to take an active part in civic matters of community interest. As a result of this the Government of Bombay, in 1888, elected him a Justice of the Peace, which title he still holds. His scholarly attainments, moreover, as shown already by several publications, won for him enrolment in some of the learned societies, including the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of which he was elected a member in 1892.

In 1894, at the age of thirty-seven, he was appointed as the Naib-Dastur of the Hormusji Wadia Fire Temple,

being deputy to his father, and on the latter's death, in 1898, he succeeded to the office of Head Priest. Early in 1899 his own Madressa selected the Dastur as its Principal and assigned to him also a professorial chair in his chosen studies, which duties he has continued to perform along with those of his priestly charge. The Government of India, in the same year, 1899, recognised his learning by conferring upon him the title of Shams-ul-Ullema, with a medal attesting the honour. The Parsee Community, moreover, has always accorded him abundant distinction in recognition of his meritorious services.

Throughout his life the Shams-ul-Ullema has devoted himself to advancing the Zoroastrian Faith, not only as a priest and as a teacher, but also as a writer. A long list of articles, monographs, and separate volumes bears notable witness to this fact, as a glance at the appended Bibliography will show. It is particularly fitting and peculiarly touching to feel that his name will always be associated with that of his father in the monumental work of editing and translating the Dinkard. As early as the fifth volume in 1888, he had already begun to lend a helping hand by making the English version of the Pahlavi text, which his father had rendered into Gujarati. He continued to collaborate in the task until his parent's death in 1898, and then carried on the burden alone, but with indefatigable energy, so that in 1922 the Dinkard series showed the goodly number of seventeen volumes. Only two more are now needed to render the edition complete.

Scholars in various parts of the world, and all his friends in India, will join warmly in hoping that his health and strength may remain unimpaired so as to enable him to finish these two volumes and then find time for still other publications, besides devoting himself with his wonted spirit and energy to the activities for which he is known.

In presenting this book as a mark of regard, each of the contributors and all his other friends join in wishing Dastur Darab the ancient Avestan wish and prayer that he may live with a [Avestan text]

and I may still further add:

[Avestan text]

[Avestan text]

A. V. Williams Jackson,

Columbia University,

New York Cit

LIST OF WORKS AND ARTICLES PUBLISHED

BY

DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA.

The Avesta Doctrine regarding Man in relation to his Body and Soul. *Bombay Gazette*, November 3, 1882. (Reprinted in pamphlet form, 10 pages, 1885.)

Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times. Translated from the German of Dr. Wilhelm Geiger's *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, and with three Appendices translated from Dr. Spiegel's *Eranische Alterthumskunde.* 2 Vols. London (Henry Frowde), 1885.

The Alleged Practices of Next-of-kin Marriages in Old Iran London, 1888 (Read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Reprinted also in *Zarathushtra in the Gathas*, appendix, Leipzig, 1897)

English Translation of the Dinkard (3. 164—217), in the edition by his father, vol. 5, pages 271—351, Bombay, 1888 (This translation was continued in each of the following volumes of the Pahlavi text, accompanied also by a version in Gujarati)

English Translation of the Dinkard, continued, in Vol 6, Bombay, 1891 (See the preceding entry.)

The Position of Zoroastrian Women in Remote Antiquity, as illustrated in the Avesta A lecture. Bombay (Education Society's Steam Press), 1892

The Extant Pahlavi Codices of the Nirangistan A Paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 24th November 1893 Bombay (Education Society's Steam Press), 1894

Nirangistan, a Photozincograph Facsimile of a Ms, edited with an Introduction and Collation with an older Iranian Ms Bombay, 1894 (Being Vol 1 of the Pahlavi Text Series published under the auspices of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund, and for the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet)

The Dina i Mainu i Khrat, or the Religious Decision of the Spirit of Wisdom The Pahlavi Text, edited with an Introduction, Critical and Philological Notes, etc Bombay, 1895 (An Appendix contains also some account of the life of the Editor's great-grandfather)

The Zend i Javit Sheda Dad, or Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad The text, edited with an Introduction Critical and Philological Notes, and Appendices on the History of Avesta Literature Bombay, 1895

The Karname i Artakhshir i Papakan, being the oldest surviving Records of the Zoroastrian Emperor Ardashir Babakan. New edition, revised and enlarged. Bombay, 1896. (The first edition was issued four months earlier in the same year, 1896. The new and revised edition gives the Pahlavi text in the original characters, accompanied by a transliteration into Roman letters, and provided with translations into English and Gujarati, introduction, notes, etc.)

Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Greek and Roman Classics. Translated from the German of Drs. Geiger and Windischmann, with Notes on M. Darmesteter's Theory regarding the Date of the Avesta, and an Appendix. Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1897.

Tansar's Alleged Letter to the King of Tabaristan, from the Standpoint of M. J. Darmesteter. Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1898. (Issued under the patronage of the Trustees of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund.)

Observations on M. J. Darmesteter's Theory regarding Tansar's Letter to the King of Tabaristan and the Date of the Avesta, Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1898. (Issued under the patronage of the Trustees of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund.)

The Dinkard, Vols. 9—17. Bombay, 1900—1922. (Volume 9, in which he had collaborated with his father, was brought out in 1900 after the death of the latter in 1898 ; the volumes that followed were prepared by Dastur Darab alone. Two only remain to be issued, as noted above in the Biographical Sketch).

A. V. W. J.

ZARATHUŠTRA: HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE,

By Prof. Chr. Bartholomae,* University of Heidelberg.

(*Translated from the German by* V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *M.A., Ph.D.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There is a time honoured custom that the speaker invited to discourse on this occasion enjoys the privilege of taking the subject of the speech of the day from the field of his special research. Exercising that privilege, I take the liberty of diverting, for a brief while, your attention from the grave anxieties of this hour of trial for our land and people, holding us all alike in a state of excitement and agitation, and of directing it to a historical event which took place in a distant land in times bygone, to an event which at first caused a mighty inner transformation of a great people, similar to the one which we ourselves experienced only a short while ago, but which subsequently bore far reaching political consequences affecting the outer world also, albeit that in its essence it has been of a purely religious character.

It is a well known fact that around individuals who have rendered their people some great service, who occupy a place in life above that of their contemporaries, there grows even during their own lifetime an exuberant entanglement of anecdotes of all kinds as to what they are supposed to have said and done, which spreads luxuriantly like a rank weed. And this over busy spinning and weaving of legends is not interrupted, much less discontinued, even at the death of this man, the process continues often for a very long time, so that the picture of that man, as it fixes itself and lives on in the imagination of the people, departs more and more from the historical prototype; it gets more and more diffused, distorted, and obscured. This sort of thing happens at the present day also, even when the historical muse strenuously endeavours to set down promptly in black and white all that such a man has *actually* said and done. How much more so at an epoch when documentary preservation of words and deeds was still unknown, at best existed still in a rudimentary condition, when all historical knowledge rested entirely

---

*Zarathuštra's *Leben und Lehre*. Akademische Rede (Heidelberg, 22 November 1918) von Chr. Bartholomae. Bei Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1924. (=Kultur und Sprache, 4. Band.)

Zarathuštrian religion are called In any event we have no right to accept any precept as Zarathuštrian that has *not* been traditionally handed down in those books For, despite all that later native sources have to say in the matter, we must not lose sight of the fact that what Zarathuštra had himself taught and preached—so to say, the pure Zarathuštrian doctrine—had at quite an early period of its history to put up with important transformations of a diverse character The new doctrine, so far as the purely religious element goes was too rational and abstract to serve as a religion of the masses The old belief of the ARYAS (i e, the Indo Iranian) period with its ancient in part highly anthropomorphic figures of gods was too deeply and firmly embedded among the people to be rooted out completely by the new religion without further ado The necessary consequence of its tenacious survival was that the successors of Zarathuštra in the office of both priests and teachers in their concern for the expansion and solidification of the Zarathuštrian religion, and not to an inconsiderable extent in personal interest, were compelled to make concessions to popular feeling at first only by tacit toleration but subsequently by formal recognition, so that in the end quite a number of things came to be included in the articles of faith which the original doctrine not only did not contain nor ordain but which it had once expressly rejected and even combated

This course of development of the Iranian religion is clear even from the Avesta itself The Avesta is not a homogeneous work any more than, for instance, the Old Testament As regards both form and matter, it exhibits a diversified character, and its origin extends over long stretches of time, even disregarding certain posthumous pieces which in no way can be regarded as original Broadly speaking, the Avesta falls into two quite unequal parts sharply contrasted as regards their matter as well as their form which can be clearly distinguished as an older and a later part

The shorter OLDER part, characterized by the great antiquity of its linguistic garb, comprises 17 so-called Gāthās i e, literally 'poems, songs,' in reality sermons in metrical form, or rather extracts from sermons which for convenience of memorizing have been thrown into verses of different rhythmic forms In my translation of the Gāthās I have called them Zarathuštra s sermons in verse For, I have no doubt that they are to be traced back to the founder of the Iranian religion himself, that they contain Zarathuštra s sayings and precepts in the form he himself had given to them, indeed so far as that is possible in regard to a long exclusively oral, traditional transmission For the authenticity is, in

my opinion, decisive by the preponderance of the purely personal elements contained in these sermons in verse. Thus the poet once complains of a princeling, whose personality was sufficiently indicated for his contemporaries and who had refused Zarathuštra shelter for which he, surprised in a thunderstorm, had prayed. We find everywhere pathetic complaints about the scanty success met with by the new doctrine and about the hostilities shown towards himself and his doctrine by his enemies. This makes it as good as certain that the speaker in these sermons in verse, calling himself Zarathuštra, is in fact no other than Zarathuštra himself, and that here we have not before us, as is so often the case in the later portions of the Avesta, late precepts which, merely with a view to increasing the weight of their authority, have at some subsequent period been placed in the mouth of the founder of the religion.

Also the LATER portion of the Avesta, which is considerably more extensive than the other, shows numerous metrical pieces ; but—and this fact is significant for the difference in time between them—not one of them is composed in any of the metrical forms we come across in the sermons in verse. Its contents are of mixed character. We find here advice in matters relating to criminal and civil law, digressions on ritual questions, on rites of purification prescribed for the violation of corporal purity, particularly as a result of contact with corpses or portions of them—the cases are, in the manner of petrified theology, spun out at great length with most tedious sophistry—further questions relating to instruction, and so on and so forth. Numerous pieces are purely liturgical. The element most important for the history of religion, and surely also the oldest portions of the Younger Avesta are the so-called Yašts, *i.e.*, prayers and hymns, in metrical form, addressed to individual deities. The religious ideas which find expression there are of a character very different from those of the sermons in verse. Much water has flown under the bridges. The religion for whose establishment and expansion in the early days the little band of the faithful had to fight so strenuously that in the earlier work we find often enough expressions of anxious doubt for the success of the cause has long since become the established religion of the Iranian State, at the close of the struggle between the pure doctrine preached by the founder and the popular under-currents, which had ended after far-reaching concessions had been made to the old popular belief. Thus, for instance, to the group of the most highly honoured deities in the Younger Avesta belongs Mithra, an Old Aryan god, to whom prayers are addressed by the Vedic Indians also. It is well-known that the cult of this god was subsequently conveyed from the Iranian Empire to Europe and had

penetrated to the western confines of the Roman Empire, even in Heidelberg itself there was a sanctuary, a 'Mithraum', consecrated to that god In the sermons in verse, however, there is nowhere a reference to a worship of this god; even his name is not mentioned in them Now in regard to the small compass of the Older Avesta one may be tempted to explain this as an accident That assumption is however made impossible by the following fact: another deity, likewise highly eulogised in the Younger Avesta and likewise originating from the pre Iranian times is Hauma (Indian Soma, earlier, in the Aryan period, Sauma), in whose cult an important place is occupied by an intoxicating drink squeezed out of a homonymous plant It is true that Hauma also is not specifically mentioned in those sermons in verse, but there are clear and unmistakable allusions to it and to its cult in that work, and these are couched in words which plainly reveal Zarathuštra's disgust for it At the court of Persian kings, Mithra appears to have received recognition not before the 4th century of the Christian era At any rate it is only then for the first time that he is named and invoked in their inscriptions alongside of Ahuramazdah, the older kings from Darius I on used to address their prayers and thanks exclusively to Ahuramazdāh

We must accordingly admit the following If already in the Younger Avesta there appear doctrines and views that are diametrically opposed to those of the older work, we should be justified and in duty bound to exercise even greater circumspection in respect of all that is reported about Zarathuštra's doctrines in *post* Avestic works of the Middle and Modern Persian period Those very old texts had ceased to be understood certainly more than 1,500 years ago—a state of things attested in a perfectly unambiguous manner, so as to satisfy anyone who approaches the question without prejudice, by the so-called translations of these works into Middle Persian, dating from the period of the Sassanids

Now after this digression on the authorities, let us go back to Zarathuštra The name has given rise to endless speculation from the time of the Greeks, who, connecting their Zoroastrēs with their word for star, aster, have explained it as meaning 'star-worshipper' or something similar, on to our own times Most of the more modern attempts centre round the idea that the name itself must contain an indication of the significance or the calling of the bearer of the name Such is not the case. The founder of the Iranian religion bears quite a common or garden name, which must however for that very reason count as genuine In keeping with the primeval method of forming proper names, the name Zarathuštra consists of two words—like many of our own German

on the surface of the Hamun Sea And lastly the same sea passes for the birth place of the future Saviour, whose avocation, according to later conceptions, is to bring about the new, the more magnificent, order of human kind

All these reasons speak with great probability for the view that the Avesta had originated in EAST Iran, that from the east the new doctrine had set out on its victorious march throughout Iran Now this Hamun Sea lies nearly 1000 kilometre distant, as the crow flies, from Raghai, where Zarathuštra is said to have been born How are we to reconcile these facts ?

I believe that not only the later sources but also the sermons in verse show us the way to explain this paradox Indeed Zarathuštra had appeared first in his homeland in the NORTH WEST of Iran as teacher and preacher, had already formed there a small congregation Only the great majority of his fellow countrymen would have nothing to do with the new doctrine And as he did not belong to the moneyed class— he says himself in one of his sermons in verse 'I know, O Mazdāh, why I am not able (to accomplish) anything, mine are not many herds, (everything depends on that,) and only a few people are mine'—so he could not defend himself against his persecutors, he had to seek safety in flight, exactly as was the case with Mohammed 'To which land', we read in another passage of the old texts, 'to which land, to escape, whither to escape, shall I turn my steps ?' None of the three estates took kindly to him or his doctrine Also a prominent characteristic of the new doctrine points to West Iran as the home of its founder, I shall revert to the question in the sequel So Zarathuštra took to his heels along with a band of loyal followers, and in order to escape as quickly as possible from the thickly populated localities inhabited by his fellow countrymen who were ill-disposed towards him, he had to turn his steps towards the desert, which lay to the south-east During his peregrination he at last succeeded in finding sympathy for his doctrine and patronage for himself and his followers in Seistān, which lay in the dominion of the East Iranian tribal chief Vištāspa All authorities from the earliest period onwards look upon Vištāspa as the patron and protector of the prophet In the Gāthās it is said of him that 'simultaneously with the overlordship of the fraternity (of the faithful) he had accepted the doctrine which had been ex cogitated by the holy Mazdāh Ahura, and, leading the way, he paved the path for the progress of the true doctrine'; and Vištāspa's ministers, the brothers Frašauštra and Jāmāspa, were enthusiastic friends and helpers in the work of salvation, a relation subsequently further strengthened through Zarathuštra

marrying a daughter of Frašauštra, and Jāmāspa on the other hand marrying the prophet's daughter, Porucistā by name. The celebration of their marriage was the occasion for the composition of the seventeenth and the last of his sermons in verse. About other events in the life of Zarathuštra nothing is known with certainty. Later works assign to him three wives and several sons and daughters. At the age of 77 he is said to have died a violent death at the fire altar.

It would naturally be of great importance to know WHEN that took place. Unfortunately I cannot give even a half-way definite answer to this question. According to the calculation of native authorities, which is based on quite arbitrary and improbable assumptions, 583 B.C. is the year in which the prophet died. That is certainly too late a date. When we remember that the Mazdian religion was already in the 6th century the official religion of the Persian court, further that already in an Assyrian inscription of the 8th century there appears Mazdaku, as the name of a Mede, which is derived from the name of the god Mazdāh, whence it follows that even at that period the Mazdian religion had spread over Media, and take into consideration the interval of time requisite for that, we shall have to push upwards the epoch of Zarathuštra's activities at least to about 900 B.C. The archaic character of the language in which his sermons in verse are written allow us to postulate even a still higher antiquity.

Now at last we may turn to Zarathuštra's doctrine. I would emphasize again expressly the fact that when speaking of Zarathuštra's doctrine I understand, and I would have it understood, merely that which can be gleaned from his sermons in verse, in other words merely that which may be traced back with confidence to the prophet himself. For that very reason, in my exposition, I shall mostly make use of the prophet's own words.*

At the period when the Aryans on this side of the Indus (that is, the Iranians and the Western Indians) still formed a closer unity—and that was certainly the case not very long prior to Zarathuštra's time, and may have been so still in his own time—the religion and the cult of these two peoples were in all essentials the same. In the cult bloody sacrifices of animals and the intoxicating beverage of Sauma played a prominent rôle. The religion had a polytheistic character. The Aryan pantheon was inhabited by a multitude of gods. There were the Sun-god and the Moon-god, the goddess of Dawn, the god of Fire, the deities of Water, the god of Thunder, further Mithra, Sauma and so on; without there

* They are indicated below by quotation marks.

being among them any well-established order of priority As regards

daina,

ginally

t time

have scarcely been felt by the man in the street as having different values

Lastly, the cultural conditions of the Iranian provinces They were certainly heterogeneous Presumably the West under the influence of the neighbouring Mesopotamia, where quite early a high cultural development had been reached, must already have arrived at the stage of permanent settlement combined with regular agriculture and cattle breeding, but in the East there flourished still nomadism, and the incipient stages of settlement could have made but slow progress, in as much as against the depredatory raids of the nomads' peaceful settlements could have stood but a poor chance

Such was in broad outline the terrain on which a founder of a religion of those times had to erect his edifice In the description of how it all took place I shall (let me expressly emphasize) studiously avoid all comparisons with other religions, especially the Christian, however pertinent such comparisons may appear

According to what I can gather from the sermons in verse, the founder of the Iranian religion did by no means appear in public with a settled and ready made system of religion, complete in all details, as has indeed been maintained by many a writer The prophet, even when he was teaching, passed through certain evolutionary phases, owing to both internal and external causes Three stages of development may be distinguished in his doctrines, which I would name, the MAZDIAN, the DUALISTIC, and the POLITICO ECONOMIC Indeed these stages are not clearly distinguished from each other in Zarathuštra's sermons in verse in the form in which they have come down to us But this fact I explain on the supposition that their final reaction did not take place until after all the three stages of development had been gone through

The fundamental innovation in Zarathuštra's work is the displacement of the multiplicity of gods then in vogue by ONE GOD, the WISE GOD *mazdāh* ('wise') *ahura* ('god'), the latter being the Iranian equivalent of the Aryan—as also Indian—word *asura* He is often called merely *mazdāh*, 'the Wise One' or merely *ahura* 'the God' In Zarathuštra's time the two words had not yet fused into a compound, that takes place only in later times, and then in the sequence *ahura mazdāh* (now *Ormazd*) Beside him there were to be sure also other deities,

named and acknowledged, who also bear the name Ahura ; but in the presence of Mazdāh they retire into the shade. Characteristic of Zarathuštra's religious ideas (in the formation of which the pondering intelligence was active to a far greater extent than the creative and imaginative faculty) are the NAMES of these Ahuras. Excepting fire, they are names of mere excogitated, unreal concepts: Justice (or Truth), Highmindedness, Sovereign Power (or Empire), Pious Devotion, Welfare and Immortality, Obedience, Blessing (or Merit). They all count as creations of Mazdāh, and their relation to him is that of ministers and ambassadors in an oriental court-state ; they appear in his train ; they take their orders and commissions from him and carry them out ; they mediate between him and the faithful ; they play in fact a part very analogous to that of angels in the Semitic religions and in Christianity so that the Zarathuštrian religion could and must, no less than these others, be called monotheistic. Nearly all these subordinate Ahuras lack, as their very names attest, any pronounced personal element ; they are colourless and formless. They hadno power to stimulate the imagination of the people, and it was therefore denied to them to become really popular.

Very different is the state of things with the highest God, Mazdāh, in whom is combined all glory and power, the father and protector of cosmic order. Of him alone the sermons in verse have anything substantial to say. In one passage it is said of him, in the garb of a rhetorical question : "Who fixed the path of the Sun and the stars ? Who makes the Moon wax and wane ? Who upholds the earth below and the air-filled space that they fall not down ? Who the water and the plants ? Who joined swiftness with the wind and the clouds ? Who created the grateful light and darkness ? Who sleep and wakefulness ? Who the morning, the noon, and the night, which remind the wise of his duty ? What has here been said of Mazdāh reminds us strongly of that deity of the Indian pantheon which appears to be most permeated with spirituality, namely Varuṇa. Varuṇa functions likewise as the guardian of cosmic order. And it cannot be doubted that in the picture of the Zarathuštrian Mazdāh not a few of the traits of the Aryan (and Indian) Varuṇa have found inclusion. Only the picture was borrowed by Zarathuštra, but not the name as well ; for that he substituted another. Exactly the same thing has happened in the case of the fire-god, whose old Aryan and Indian name Agni—a phonetic equivalent of the Latin *igni-s*—was exchanged for the new Ātar. As a matter of principle there were to be no gods common to the new and the old belief ; and when it was impossible to avoid having some god in common, the prophet changed

at least the name with the conscious intention of making it thereby appear as another, a new god, and of blotting out the memory of the identical or similar old god As for the idea of god, Zarathuštra re-introduced the half forgotten word for god, *ahura*, for denoting the true god, reserving the popular word *daiva* exclusively for the purpose of denoting the gods invoked by the adherents of the old religion against which he had fought, in other words, the FALSE gods Thus it came about that the two old words for the identical idea of god became words denoting true god and false god,—a difference which subsequently, when the old religion had made room for the new one, coarsened into that between god and devil Likewise in the case of the names of Indian deputies and officers of the theocratic State, Zarathuštra made a similar separation, so that to one series of names, namely, to those which were uptil then in greater vogue, was imputed the taint of falsity, malevolence and enmity

This duality of gods, priests, princes, and so on which had resulted in the way already described, was then further developed by Zarathuštra to that pronounced DUALISM, which is so specially characteristic of his doctrine This passionate, untiring inquiry into the genesis of evil, wickedness and falsity in the world brought the prophet into a conflict with the monotheistic philosophy ('Weltanschauung') taught by himself, in which there was only ONE good God The universe, he now teaches in the SECOND phase of his religious evolution, falls into a world of Truth and a world of Deceit, which manifest themselves externally in the form of Light and Darkness Both worlds are from the 'beginning of life' existent side by side, as the kingdoms of the 'holy' and of the 'evil' or 'deceitful' spirits, a 'twin pair,' each of whom from the beginning of things has been fighting with the other for power and for its aggrandizement, seeking to secure followers Thus it is said of the Daivas expressly that 'as they were deliberating, they allowed themselves to be fooled' into joining the party of the Evil Spirit The conflict between the Twin Souls thus becomes a conflict between the two worlds, between the world of Truth in light and the world of Deceit in darkness This conflict will continue uninterrupted to the 'end of life' Then alone will a decision be reached, and that with the complete victory of the Holy Spirit Then at once will be established the 'Kingdom of Mazdāh,' the 'Kingdom of welfare and of profit,' the eternal abode of all those that through their conduct in this life have contributed to the victory of the Holy Spirit, have 'made Deceit captive and delivered it into the hands of Truth' I shall have to say at the end something more about Zarathuštra's ideas concerning the last things

The contradiction between the two stages of Zarathuštra's doctrine pointed out above cannot be mistaken. The most significant attempt of post-Zarathuštrian speculation to effect a compromise is represented by the most widely spread doctrine of 'Endless Time'; excepting Time everything else has been created and is moreover a creation of Time. The god of Time, himself beyond good and evil, has created and borne that Twin Pair, the Holy and the Evil Spirit. The idea, though not in this form, had certainly taken root early, long before its formulation in the doctrine of the ZERVANITES, the worshippers of the Time-god. This follows with certainty from several passages of the Younger Avesta, which already recognize 'Endless Time' as a deity. But even Zarathuštra himself was not in the dark as to the contradiction into which he had landed himself with his two dogmas. And he seeks to reconcile them by placing the Holy Spirit of the dualistic doctrine in more intimate relation to the One Almighty Creator and Protector Mazdāh, and making him the supreme executor of His will. It is true that in this way the independent power assigned to the Holy Spirit by the dualistic dogma was done away with: but on the other hand again, by these very means, his actual power over that of his twin brother was elevated, so that the final defeat of the wicked spirit in the great world conflict must have seemed from the very beginning to be a foregone conclusion.

So far Zarathuštra had arrived in his religio-philosophical development even when he lived and taught in his western homeland. It is self-evident that his heterodoxy provoked violent opposition on the part of the adherents of the old belief, especially of the priests; he was persecuted and had to seek shelter in flight. But when at last he found again, away in the east of Iran, a permanent abode, he found himself in an environment quite different from that of his homeland. Here a population long settled, there one predominatingly nomadic. The great economic advantages of settlement over nomadism would have forced themselves on the attention of an observer even less shrewd than Zarathuštra. There came further the realization that the establishment and the propagation of the new doctrine was dependent essentially on the fact of the population becoming settled and remaining so in ever increasing numbers. Every relapse into the old nomadism involved the danger that the horde may come under foreign, un-Mazdian influence and then revert to the old faith and form of worship. The promotion and establishment of settled life must have appealed to the tribal chief Vištāspa also, for any diminution in the extent of the settled population meant a corresponding diminution in his political power. And the prophet must have set great store by preserving the good opinion and

increasing the political power of Vištaspa, in whom he saw his guardian and the promoter of his doctrine Thus, I think, through the co operation of such varied causes was reached in the east of Iran the THIRD stage of development in Zarathuštra's doctrine, the POLITICO ECONOMIC

Even though the doctrine of Zarathuštra has appeal, in the main, for the thinking portion of the population, the intelligentsia, it must not be assumed that out in the west he had perhaps placed the agricultural class lower than that of the priests (sodality) and warriors (knights no, they must all help alike to establish the eternal Kingdom of Light But now under the influence of the conditions obtaining in the east, the protection and the care of the third estate shifts its position almost to the middle point of the new doctrine Was it not then the farmers on the produce of whose work was dependent the nourishment of the entire settled population in Vištāspa's kingdom ? But it was just these farmers, the 'righteous poor,' who were most exposed to the persecution by the nomads, hungry for booty It thus came about that just the care of the cattle, which provided not only meat and milk, but which had to drag the plough, was designated by Zarathuštra as the aim and the task of his mission, for which he had been granted the 'sweetness of speech' The opposition between the farmers and nomads became one between the 'Adherents of Truth and 'Confederates of Deceit' The care of agriculture and cattle breeding became the religious duty of all, just as much as communal defence and the merciless campaign against nomads, the sworn enemies of agricultural industry, and therewith also of the holy order With quite exceptional fervour the prophet attacks those religious festivals at which the participants, in the old traditional manner, inspired through liberal draughts of the Hauma beverage to frenzied orgies, perpetrated bloody animal sacrifices In the fascination which must have been exercised by these wild customs over those who were not yet quite firm in their new convictions lurked the great danger of a return to the old faith 'Murder and blood bath,' so it is preached, 'should be spread among those that with their tongues augment the frenzy, and cruelty among the enemies of cattle breeding and thus peace restored among the happy villages'

Now in conclusion a few words on the ideas of the prophet concerning the last things, which take up quite a considerable amount of space in his sermons in verse It has already been pointed out that the primeval discord in the world finds expression in an uninterrupted conflict between the two parties, to be decided only at the very end of the world, imagined as about to take place in the near future In this conflict and in its

conclusion every individual has to take his own part, just like each of the Ahuras and Daivas. That is moreover pictured in the following way:

All good and evil thoughts, words, and deeds of the ENTIRE HUMAN KIND are gathered up and preserved, up to the bitter end, in the 'vestibules,' that is, treasure houses of the two eternal foes and the prophet faithfully promises his followers to see to it that of their good thoughts, words, and deeds not an iota remains 'unbooked' and is lost. And then at last when the 'final work' starts, the entire contents of the two treasure houses will be placed opposite to each other and the accounts will be balanced. Then it will be found that there is a surplus on the side of the good thoughts, words, and deeds; that is believed and taught by Zarathuštra with the utmost confidence. This surplus is, however, decisive for the victory of the world of Truth over that of Deceit; so that thenceforward 'the Good Kingdom, the precious one,' the abode of the best life, may be established.

But even in the case of each individual the good and evil of his thoughts, words, and deeds are balanced against each other in a similar fashion 'in this first life.' That takes place at the 'ford of the separater,' which lies across the fiery stream of molten metal and which every man must traverse at the 'revealment' and 'repayment' in the court of justice at which Mazdāh plays the rôle of the 'lord of the court', and Zarathuštra that of the 'judge.' Should there be at the balancing of accounts an excess of good, the man is able to cross that ford, and he reaches beatitude in the 'house of fame,' in which Mazdāh and the Ahuras dwell, that he may step into his 'inheritance,' promised to the faithful as 'recompense' for the 'balance to his credit,' enjoying a happy serene existence in the plentiful and undisturbed possession of all that which appears to him in this life also as the highest and most desirable wealth, of camels, horses, and cattle, as also in the joyous companionship of Mazdāh and the Ahuras. But a surplus of the other kind leads the man to a 'long period of misery and darkness'; troubled by serious qualms of conscience he approaches the ford, and he is swallowed up in the flaming stream and hurled down into the 'house of the Daivas and of Deceit.'

In the consistent working out of the idea of book-keeping and balancing, the prophet did not overlook the possibility that at the time of settlement the debit and credit account might balance each other exactly. People of whom this holds true, shall, so he teaches, 'according to the decision of Mazdah, at the end of all things, be separated from the others;

they shall attain to a place different from Paradise and Hell where one feels neither the joys of the best life nor the torments of the worst to the abode of mixed things, that is 'of those, in which mix (in equal parts) that which is false and that which is true in them '

Every one is called to work for the establishment of the Kingdom of God, and it must be the highest aim of every man to participate in the reward assigned to that task, 'in the long continuance of the precious existence of which it is said that it is in the Kingdom of Mazdāh ' But as 'the path to be chosen as the better one is not evident to the eye so one should 'hear the words and the commandments of the prophet, who has comprehended the truth, the wise healer of life', who can teach the right paths of profit , and who is prepared to teach them to every one who willingly confides in him Whoever does that, 'who fulfils according to the holy ordinance, for Zarathuštra that which corresponds best to his will,' such a person he, the judge at the revealment and settlement of accounts, will take unto himself like a friend, brother and father and he promises unto him 'the reward of the future life , together with all that his heart desires

That between the doctrines of Zarathuštra and those of the later Iranian theology there are some very trenchant differences is not unknown even to the Parsis themselves and in Bombay a Gatha Society has been formed with the express* object of restoring the old faith to its pristine purity and perfection Will the Society attain its object ? Certainly not in that measure as announced by the programme of the Society However excellent may be the edifice reared by the founder of a religion—if it is to serve for ever as a habitation, it must for ever remain habitable , the idea of habitability is, however, dependent on external circumstances , it shifts along with them and accordingly that edifice also must put up with alterations I suppose, one can improve a religion, one can reform it A religion that has, so to speak, run off the rails can at all events be replaced on its track , but one can never take back a religion to its starting point, because Time is stronger than all religious systems

* 'To elevate Zoroastrianism into its pristine purity and completeness '

AVESTA *URVATO* AND OLD PERSIAN *USABARIM*,

By A V Williams Jackson Columbia University
New York City

In Yasht 14 11 and in the next two sections there is given a description of the camel (fierce in the rutting season) to which Verethraghna as the Genius of Victory is compared The passage represents Verethraghna in the fourth of his appearances The verses for the passage is a metrical one contain numerous epithets applied to the camel and among these is the adjective *urvat* the interpretation of which has long been a crux The text of the particular lines in question (Yt 14 11) runs as follows

uštrahe kəhrpa t dharyaoš da l ..aoš[1] auci tacinahe urvato fraspāranahe

'(Verethraghna appeared) in the form of a rutting camel biting running towards —?— kicking'

Darmesteter *Le Z* 1 2 564 with n 15 translates as 'rapide tal ing *urvatō* as *aurvatō* on the authority of a single manuscript M4 but the weight of the variants is against accepting this and we must abide by adopting *urvato* with Geldner Bartholomae *Altiran Wörterbuch* 1535 considers *urvato* to be an uninflected (compositional) form of an assumed stem *urvata* (a-decl) but he can give no translation leaving a blank '—?—' for the rendering It seems possible however to offer a relatively simple solution of the problem

In my various travels in the Orient I became somewhat familiar with camels, observing their characteristics and keeping in mind the Avestan epithet *urvato* I have no doubt that the attribute means 'snarling growling' the particular epithet which European travellers[2] who have lived in the East apply to this animal when it is vicious

The etymological explanation of *urvato* at once becomes easy The form is a gen sg of a participial stem *ru ant* from a root *ru* 'to cry roar, bellow,' which is found equally in Skt *ru*, with ptcpl *ruvant*- in the Rigveda and applied to the noise made by the bull and cattle Philologically compare likewise Gk *ὠρύομαι* 'howl, Lat *rūmor* orig 'noise,' *raucus* 'screaming hoarse Ang Sax *ryn* 'a roaring' (*cf* Lanman *Sanskrit Reader*, p 230) This meaning admirably suits

[1] ... taking the word as Bartholomae *Altiran* manuscript variants,

[2] See Oppert ZDMG 10 804, *cf* also Oppert *Le Peuple et les langues des Mèdes* p 47 12? Paris 1879

the context in our Avestan passage with its other attributes as to biting, rushing at, and kicking, all of which are well-known characteristics of the camel in its ugly moods. Similarly in Vd. 22-3.

Furthermore, it seems not unlikely that the same explanation, as that of a cry, may be adopted for the epithet *urvatō*, which is applied to the Vâreghna bird in Yt. 14. 19. For such a usage compare also in English, in the play scene of Hamlet, 3.2.240, 'the c r o a k i n g raven doth b e l l o w for revenge.' But other scholars take *urvatō* there as a wholly different word from that in Yt. 14.11, and they vary in their views as to translation. Thus Bartholomae, *AWb.* 1541, s. v. *urvant.*, makes it quite a different adjective in Yt. 14.19, and translates by 'fassend' packend,' rendering the uncertain attribute *pišatō*, which follows *urvatō* by the term 'zerhackend' (*AWb.* 907). Whatever view may ultimately prevail with regard to the epithet *urvatō* in the case of the bird, there can remain little or no doubt that the adjectival participle *urvatō*, as applied to the camel in our passage from the Bahrâm Yasht, must mean 'snarling, growling.'

Professor Geldner has since written me (March 24, 1924) his hearty approval of the suggested explanation above of the epithet *urvatō* as applied to the camel, and draws my attention to the verb Skt. *ruvati* similarly used in connection with the camel in Manu 4. 115. He observes that Skt. *ruta* is often used of the cry of birds, adding, however, that in Yt. 11-29 the implied contrast between *urvatō adhara-naēmāt* and *pisatō upara-naēmāt* awaits clearing up.

2. OLD PERSIAN UŠABĀRIM, BH. 1-86-87.

More than twenty years ago I made the tentative suggestion that the Old Persian adjective *ušabāri-* in the cuneiform inscription of Darius, at Bahistan (Bh. 1-86-87) might not mean 'camel-borne,' but rather 'borne by oxen,' bullocks, *cf.* Skt. *ukṣan-*, Av. *uxšan-* (quoted by my then pupil Dr. L. H. Gray in *Am. Journ. Philol.* 20.21). From the phonetic standpoint such a suggestion can be supported by comparing also O. P. *us-tašana-*, 'raised structure' with Skt. *takṣaṇa-* ; Av. *tašan-*. Skt. *tákṣan-*, Gk. *tékṭōn*, 'builder'; Av. *dašina-*, Skt. *dákṣiṇa-*, Lat. *dexter*, 'right.' But I was fully aware, as then stated, of objections that might be raised against this interpretation.

On the other hand the view favoring 'borne on camels' (**uxtra bāri-*), as first enunciated by Oppert, years before, has been generally followed by scholars, Weissbach, Foy, Hüsing, Tolman, Bartholomae; also later (1915) by Meillet, *Gram. du vieux Perse*, p. 58, §109, 'monté sur chameau,' although Meillet recognized that there were difficulties involved. In 1917, Professor R. G. Kent, *Journ. Am. Soc.* 35.343-344, summarized in a clear and brief manner the various notations by scholars

regarding *uśabārim*, and decided for 'camel-borne,' but allowed (p 344, § 51) that *uśa-* may have been a by-form of *uštra-*, 'camel,' and that the meaning 'ox' was lost and that of 'camel' acquired [1] The whole matter seems therefore worth considering anew in its several aspects

We must first recall the situation that is involved in the Bahistān passage In his campaign against Nadintabaira, Darius has reached the Tigris and quickly adopts what means he can for transporting his army across the river, so as to attack the foe The text of Bh 1 86 87 reads as follows.

(86) *pasāva adam kāram maškauvā avākanam aniyam uša*

(87) *bārim akunavam aniyahyā asam frānayam*

'afterwards I disposed (?)[2] the [main] army upon inflated-skins; another part I made *uśabārim*, for another I brought horse(s)'

Now in 1918 when engaged on a philanthropic mission to Persia during the World War, I spent five weeks at Baghdad, just above the ancient Babylon, and often thought about the scene of Darius crossing the Tigris with his army The method of transportation for the main body by means of blown-up skins seemed clear from the Assyro-Babylonian sculptures. Swimming the horses across was easy for the cavalry But *uśabārim*,—what was that? Day after day as I watched the water buffaloes floundering and swimming in the stream of the Tigris, I began to think that there might possibly be something after all in my old surmise as to *uša* (*ušan-*), *uksan*, and that *uśabārim* might be taken to mean 'borne on (water) buffaloes' Moreover, a former Persian pupil of mine at Columbia University, Mr Abul Kasim Bakhtiar, who knows the Mesopotamian region as well as his own Bakhtiar territory, afterwards told me that he had crossed the Tigris or other streams in that manner. He also informed me that a tribe of (so called) Arab nomads came annually, for purposes of trade, to a lake in the neighbourhood of his Bakhtiari home, bringing their water-buffaloes as pack animals for the road and using them as transports to swim across the lake when the

1 Added support for this latter point in regard to development of meaning.

matter of transit was involved. All this was attractive to learn; and I was then inclined to abide by my view, interpreting *ušabāri-* as 'borne on (water-) buffaloes.'[1]

But much later, on January 16, 1924, I had a chance in New York to talk the matter over with my old friend, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, whose knowledge of Persia is unmatched, although he happened not to have been in Mesopotamia. General Sykes raised a pertinent objection to assuming that the water-buffalo was known in Mesopotamia at the time of Darius. He recalled to me a statement in his *History of Persia*, 2 ed. 2.11, which was based on the authority of De Goeje's *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes*, to the effect that the Indian buffaloes were first brought to the Tigris by the Gypsies from the lower Indus in the time of Walid I., at the beginning of the eighth century of our era. While the specialist in zoology might have to determine on other grounds whether the water-buffalo might have been in Mesopotamia still earlier, this statement now renders my view as to 'buffalo-carried, more than doubtful. Furthermore, the Elamitic, or Susian, version of our Old Persian passage renders the word by an ideogram that denotes 'camel'; and more particularly, the fact that there occurs in Assyrian a borrowed word *uštarabari*, as referred to by Bartholomae *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, 421, militates against assigning any other meaning than the one generally accepted.

Not only that but Sir Percy Sykes gave me information from his own experience that the camel is not merely a ship of the desert but serves also as a means of water transport on occasions. The animal doubles his legs under him, a man leads at the beast's head, another grasps him by the tail as a rudder, and thus the ferrying across the stream is accomplished, the camel taking a long time to unfold his legs upon reaching the other side.

In the light of all this I am now disposed to abandon my view as to water-buffaloes; also to concede that the engraver may actually have made a mistake by omitting the two final letters t^a r^a of *uštra* because the word comes at[2] the end of a line (**bārim* beginning the next), and to accept the reading as *uš[tra-]bārim* with the meaning 'camel-borne.' It seems fair as a scholar to make this statement in print because it gives a view that has finally been reached after mature deliberation and a careful weighing of all the evidence available.

---

[1] See King and Thompson, *Sculptures and Inscription . . . Behistûn*, p. 109, *cf.* also Weissbach, ZDMG, 61. 725; and earlier, Oppert, *Le peuple . . . des Mèdes*, p. 47, 722; and Hüsing, *KZ*. 38.259.

[2] For valuable criticism regarding such mistakes, see Kent, *JAOS* (1920), 40, 289-299.

PAHLAVI, PĀZAND, AND PERSIAN REFERENCES TO THE DOUBLE NATURE OF THE AMSHASPANDS,

BY LOUIS H. GRAY (UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA)

In collecting material for a study on "The Foundations of Iranian Religion" which will appear, I hope, sometime in 1926 it has seemed advisable to gather together those later Iranian passages which explicitly state what is repeatedly implied in the Avesta itself—the double nature of the Amshaspands, the one material, the other spiritual or ethical.

I PAHLAVI TEXTS

(1) The best-known of these references—at least so far as Occidental scholars are concerned—is probably *Shāyast lā Shāyast* xv 5 The age of this particular passage is quite uncertain except that it is more than six centuries old since it is contained in a manuscript (M 6) written in 1397 A D [1] The Pahlavi text itself is as yet unedited, but the passage in question is translated by West [2] as follows:

"(In) the world that which is mine who am Aūharmazd is the righteous man of Vohūman are the cattle, of Ardavahisht is the fire of Shatvairō is the metal, of Spendarmad are the earth and virtuous woman of Horvadad is the water and of Ameredad is the vegetation"

(2) The same conceptions recur in the *Great* (or *Iranian*) *Bundahishn* which may have been completed in 1178 A D and which seems to present an earlier text than the Indian version [3] The chapters relevant in the present connexion are a portion of iii and all of xxvi,[4] and though each has been rendered into French, by E Blochet[5] and J Darmesteter[6] respectively, the sections immediately concerning the Amshaspands may here be given in transcription and English translation

---

1 E W West, in *Sacred Books of the East* v (Oxford, 1880), pp lxiii, 372, note 1

2 *Ib* p 373

3 *Būndahishn*, ed Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908 pp xxxii xxxvi

4 Ed Anklesaria p 33, l 15-p 37, l 14, and p 162, l 2-p 180, l 11.

5 *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xxxii (1895) 103 106

6 *Le Zend Avesta* Paris, 1892 93 ii, 305 322

A. CHAPTER III.

(i) (p. 33, line 15—p. 34, line 2). *Fratūm min mīnavadānŏ Aūharmazd zak 3 dīnō afash min stihānŏ būn mardūmŏ min benafshman vādūntŏ afash hamkār zak 3 dīnō u khadūkŏ gāsŏ u khadūkŏ dīnō khadūkŏ zamānŏ*: "The first of the spiritual beings (is) Aūharmazd, whose (are) the three Dīns; of earthly creatures, the beginning of mankind was made from himself; also the three Dīns (are) his collaborator(s): one (is) space and one (is) religion and one (is) time."

(ii) (p. 34, l. 13-p. 35, l. 3). *Dadīgar min mīnavadānŏ Vohūman afesh min stihānŏ dakhishkŏ gōspend sardakānŏ val nafshman padīraftŏ afash yehevūndŏ val aīyyārīh hamkārīh māh u gōsh u rām u spihr khūtāī zōrvān-ī-akanārak u zōrvān-ī-dērand-khūdāī afash gōspend pavan panch būjashnŏ frāz barēhīnīdŏ tanū jānŏ rūbānŏ khadūīnakŏ mīnavad*: "The second of the spiritual beings (is) Vohūman. And of earthly creatures, the affair of sorts of cattle was received by him for himself; and for friendship (and) collaboration (were) Māh and Gōsh and Rām and Sovereign Sky and Boundless Time and Time Age-Sovereign; and he created cattle in five parts: body, life, soul, form. spirit."

(iii) (p. 35, ll. 8-10). *Sadīgar min mīnavadānŏ Ardavahishtŏ afash min dahishnŏ-ī stīsh ātāsh val nafshman mekadlūndŏ afash yehevūnd val aīyyārīh hamkārīh Ātūr u Srōsh u Verehrān u Nēryōksang*: "The third of the spiritual beings (is) Ardavahisht, and from the creation of the world the fire has been received by him for himself; and for friendship (and) collaboration (were) Ātūr and Srōsh, and Verehrān and Nēryōksang."

(iv) (p. 35, l. 15—p. 36, l. 4). *Chahārūm min mīnavadānŏ Shatvērŏ afash min dahishnŏ stih ayōkhshūst val nafshman vādūntŏ afash yehevūndŏ pavan aīyyārīh hamkārīh Khōr u Mitrō Āsmān u Ānīrān u Sūk-ī-Shapīr Arēdvīvsūr u Hōm yedatŏ Bōrj yedatŏ*: "The fourth of the spiritual beings (is) Shatvēr, and from the creation of the world metal has been made by him for himself; and in his friendship (and) collaboration were Khōr and Mitrō and Āsmān and Ānīrān and Sūk the Good, Arēdvīvsūr and the angel Hōm, (and) the angel Bōrj."

(v) (p. 36, ll. 10-13). *Panchūm min mīnavadānŏ Spendarmatŏ vafash min dahishnīh stīsh damīk val nafshman padīraftŏ afash yehevūnd val aīyyārīh hamkārīh Āpān u Dīn u Art u Mārspend u Ardishvang u Arēdvīvsūrŏ Anāhētŏ*: "The fifth of the spiritual beings (is) Spendarmad and from the creation of the world the earth has been received by her for herself; and for her friendship (and) collaboration were Āpān and Dīn and Ard, and Mārspend, and Ardishvang, and Arēdvīvsūr Anāhēd."

(vi) (p 37, ll 3-6) *Shashtūm min mīnaiadāno Horvadatō afash min dahishnō-ī stīsh māyā val khiēsh mekadlūndō afash yehevūndō val aiyyārih hamkārīh Tir u Vad u Fraiardīnō*. "The sixth of the spiritual beings (is) Horvadad, and from the creation of the world water has been received by him for himself, and for his friendship (and) collaboration were Tīr and Vād and Fravardīn"

(vii) (p 37 ll 10 12) *Haftūm min mīnaiadānō Amerōdadō afash min dahishnih stīsh aūrvar val khiēsh padīraftō afash dātō val aīyyārih u hamkārih Rashnū u Ashtād u Zamyādō 3 gadman* · "The seventh of the spiritual beings (is) Amerōdad, and from the creation of the world vegetation has been received by him for himself, and for friendship and collaboration have been given Rashnū and Ashtād and Zamyād of triple glory"

(l) CHAPTER XXVI.

(i) (p 163, ll. 8 9) *Afash stīsh dakhshakōī gabrā ī-yasharūbō mūn gabrā ī yasharūbō rāmīnēdō ayūf bēshidō adīnash Aūharmazd rāmīnēdō gayūfō bēshidō yehevūnēdō* "And (in) the world his mark (is) the righteous man, who has pleased or distressed the righteous man then through him Aūharmazd is pleased or distressed"

(ii) (p 164 ll 11 13) *Afash stish gōspend u vastarg ī-spētō khvēsh mūn ralmanshīnō rāminēdo ayufō bēshīdō yehevūnēdō afash hamkār Māh u Goshūrund u Rām* "And (in) the world cattle and white garments[1] (are) his, who has pleased or distressed them (then through him Vohūman is pleased or distressed); and his collaborator(s) (are) Māh and Gōshūrund and Rām"

(iii) (p 168 ll 13 14) *Paian stish ātāsh nafshman mūn ātāsh rāmīnēdō ayūfō beshidō yehevūnēdō afash hamkārīh ī Ātarō u Srōsh u Vahrām* "In the world the fire is his, who has pleased or distressed fire, (then through him Ardavahisht is pleased or distressed), and his is the collaboration of Ātar and Srōsh and Vahrām"

(iv) (p 170, ll 11-12; p 171, ll 2 5) *Mamanash stīsh aitō ayōkhshūstō Shatrīvōr stīsh ayōkhshūstō mūn ayōkhshūstō rāmīnēdō ayūf bēshidō adinash Shatvērō rāmīnēdō ayūfō bēshidō yehevunēdō afash hamkārīh Khūr u Mitrō u Āsmān u Anirān* "For his is metal (in) the world . . (Of) Shatrīvōr (in) the world (is) metal, who has pleased or distressed metal, through him Shatvēr is pleased or distressed, and his (is) the collaboration of Khūr and Mitrō and Āsmān and Anīrān"

1 *Cf* the gloss of *Vohūman* by *vastarg* in *Vendidād* xix, 23

(v) (p. 173, ll. 4-5; p. 174, ll. 3-5). *Afash stīsh damīk nafshman . . . mūnash damīk rāmīnēḍō ayūf bēshīḍō adīnash Spendarmaḍō rāmīnēḍō ayūf bēshīḍō yehevūnēḍō afash hamkārīh Āvān u Dīn u Arḍ u Mārspend:* "And here (in) the world (is) the earth . . . . Who has pleased or distressed her earth, through him Spendarmaḍ is pleased or distressed; and hers (is) the collaboration of Āvān and Dīn and Arḍ and Mārspend."

(vi) (p. 178, ll. 1, 11-13). *Afash stīsh mayā nafshman . . . mūnash mayā rāmīnēḍō ayūfō bēshīḍō adīnash Horvadaḍō rāmīnēḍō ayūfō bēshīḍō yehevūnēḍō afash hamkārīh Tīr u Vāḍ u Fravarḍīnō:* "And his (in) the world (is) water. . . . Who has pleased or distressed his water, through him Horvadaḍ is pleased or distressed; and his (is) the collaboration of Tīr and Vāḍ and Fravarḍīn."

(vii) (p. 179, ll. 9, 12-14). *Latammanash stīsh aūrvar . . . amatō aūrvar rāmīnēḍō ayūfō bēshīḍō adīnash Amerōdaḍō rāmīnēḍō ayūfō bēshīḍō yehevūnēḍō afash hamkārīh-ī Rashnūī Ashtāḍ u Zamyāḍō:* "Here (in) the world his (is) vegetation. . . . When (one) has pleased or distressed vegetation, through him Amerōdaḍ is pleased or distressed; and his (is) the collaboration of Rashnū, Ashtāḍ, and Zamyāḍ."

(3) Here also belongs a passage in the *Pāzand Būndahishn,*[1] which is not found in either of the Pahlavi recensions: "I (am) Hōrmezd, the righteous man; and Vahman (is) cattle; and Ardabahisht (is) fire; and Shaharivar (is) metal; and Spendarmaṭ (is) earth and the good woman; and Awaredāṭ (is) water; and Amerēdaṭ (is) vegetation."

II. PĀZAND TEXTS.

The texts pertinent in the present connexion are all drawn from the Patīts (confessions of sins), one of which is found in Pahlavi as well, but whose date of composition is quite unknown.[2]

(1) *Patīt-ī-Khūḍ:*[3] "(4) And, penitent (and) repentant, I have repented of sin which I have committed against Lord Hōrmezda, mankind, and sorts of mankind. (5) And, penitent (and) repentant I have repented of sin which I have committed against Bahman, cattle, and sorts of cattle; (6) And, penitent (and) repentant, I have repented of sin which I have committed against Ardaibahishta, fire, and sorts of fire. (7) And, penitent (and) repentant, I have repented of sin which

1 Ed. Edalji Kersāspji Antiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, p. 63, ll. 15-17, *cf.* West, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

2 *Cf.* West, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii (Strasbourg, 1904). 109-110.

3 *Pāzend Texts*, p. 148, l. 14—p. 149, l. 5; Pahlavi version in C. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlvi*, Paris, 1880, pp. 144-151 (especially p. 147); German translation by F. Spiegel, *Avesta, übersetzt*, iii (Leipzig, 1863), 216-217.

fault which I have committed celestially against Aspendārmaṭ the Ameshāspenḍ, and terrestrially against earth (and any) sort of earth, . . . I have repented. (8) Of every sort of fault which I have committed celestially against Khurdāṭ the Ameshāspenḍ, and terrestrially against water and (any) sort of water, . . . I have repented. (9) Of every sort of fault which I have committed celestially against Ameredāṭ the Ameshāspenḍ, and terrestrially against vegetation (and any) sort of vegetation, . . . I have repented."

PERSIAN TEXTS.

To this category belongs only one text of any note, the second chapter of the *Ṣad Dar Bundahish*,[1] which is also found in a Rivāyat of Dārāb Hormazdyār written in 1061 A. Y. (1692 A. D.),[2] as well as in a Rivāyat of Barzū Kavām-ad-Dīn, who flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century.[3] The date of this *Ṣad Dar* is at least as old as 896 A.Y. (1527 A.D.);[4] and the relevant chapter runs as follows :

"(1) Akōman is the adversary of the Amshāsfand Bahman ; and Andar is the adversary of the Amshāsfand Ardēbihisht ; and Sāval is the adversary of the Amshāsfand Shahrēvar ; and Nānēkhēt is the adversary of the Amshāsfand Asfandārmad ; and Tārēkh is the adversary of the Amshāsfand Khurdād ; and Azērēkh is the adversary of the Amshāsfand Amurdād ; and Hēshm is the adversary of Sarōsh the pious (and) victorious.

"(2) And the business of the Amshāsfand Bahman is that, that he does not permit mankind to hold within their hearts one against the other war and altercation and hatred and bigotry, and reveals the decree of rectitude among men (3) so that oppression becomes less ; and he does not permit (them) to do an improper act to men ; (4) and he augments the wisdom and intellect and understanding and life and judgment of men, and leads mankind in the right way.

"(5) And the business of the demon Akōman is that, that he makes the heart of men of action and merit cold toward doing good ; (6) and whensoever men do evil and engage in altercation withal, he makes manifest disputes and wrangling, (7) and strives for this, that they may [not][5] make peace with one another, and he brings into (their)

[1] Ed. Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar, together with the *Ṣad Dar Nasar*. Bombay, 1909, pp. 70-74 ; French translation by Blochet, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

[2] *Dārāb Hormazdyār's Rivāyat*, ed. Manockji Rustamji Unvālā, ii (Bombay, 1922), p. 399, l. 8—p. 401, l. 9.

[3] Ed. and tr. Edalji Keresaspji Antia, in *Cama Memorial Volume*, pp. 158-164.

[4] Dhabhar, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

[5] Read نکنند with the Rivāyats instead of the کنند of the *Ṣad Dar*.

hearts hatred and bigotry to such degree that he pours into the minds murder and bloodshed and conflict; (8) and men remove (their) feet from the command of intellect and wisdom, and do an improper (and) evil deed. (9) All this is the evil of the demon Akōman.

"(10) The business of the Amshāsfand Ardībihisht would be that that men who perform action and merit would have happiness and repose in this world from the Amshāsfand Ardībihisht. (11) Whensoever men should be happy without assigning that reason that that happiness is poured into their heart from the Amshāsfand Ardībihisht, (it would be) because there would be a merit which was not known to them; and the Amshāsfand Ardībihisht widens the way of the Chinvad Bridge for the pious. (12) When he passes the Chinvad Bridge he makes it easy; it would be the case of Ardībihisht.

"(13) And the business of the demon Andar is that that he contracts the heart of men, and pours grief and anxiety into the heart of men, (14) and when mankind commit sin, he carries them to hell and punishes the souls. (15) The demon Andar makes men sad-faced, (16) and at the head of the Chinvad Bridge the demon Andar first comes forward and narrows the Chinvad Bridge for his wicked ones.

"(17) And the business of the Amshāsfand Shahrēvar is that, that he puts justice and equity into the heart of kings (and) keeps (them) joined to just kings; (18) and every king who is just is the friend of the Amshāsfand Shahrēvar, (19) and the juster each king is, the longer he remains; (20) and the Amshāsfand Shahrēvar watches over the gold and silver and other things which may be in mines and mountains, and by the power of the Amshāsfand Shahrēvar these things can be in the mines and can come into his storehouse; (21) and in this world the Amshāsfand Shahrēvar provides the portion which comes to the poor and in that world he advocates the wish of the needy.

"(22) And the business of the demon Sāval is that, that he loves kings who oppress and mulct, and the demon Sāval points the way to theft and robbery and banditry—whatsoever abides in them—and pours them into the heart of men; and he leads men astray so that they do improper deeds so that for this cause they fall into perdition.

"(23) And the business of the Amshāsfand Asfandārmad is that, that he makes men who desire to do an action (to be) of perfect counsel and deliberation and arrangement, and he removes pride from the temperament of men, and he makes men pleasant of voice and winning of speech so that (they are) an example for men, and he does not cause pride. (24) And when sore trouble and difficulty and pain come to men, he makes men patient and causes (them) to be content, and in that pain

he makes happinesses for the heart so that the happinesses do not allow that trouble to pass into that heart; (25) and when he may have performed a merit and some trouble runs to and fro for him, for that reason the Amshāsfand Asfandārmad watches that he may not repent of that action and merit.

"(26) The business of the demon Nānēkhēt would be that, that he makes men proud; and when some trouble comes to mankind Nānēkhēt does not cause it to pass by, and they are impious; and he takes something from them so that they do not say merits and are not thankful to God; (27) and when men give him counsel, he would be worse and does not accept advice; (28) and what, not obeying the king, a mother and father and wife do to a husband, and a slave to a master, would be from the demon Nānēkhēt.

"(29) The business of the Amshāsfands Khurdād and Murdād is that, that they make all sweetness and fatness and pleasantness which should be in water and vegetation and eating; (30) and when the souls of the pious come to Garōthmān and Bihisht, and they may not have something to eat and be filled, (31) the Amshāsfands Khurdād and Murdād do that.

"(32) And the business of the demons Tārēkh and Zārēkh is that, that things which would be unpleasantness, they put the unpleasantness in those things; (33) and in hell they defile the foods of the wicked, and make them foul and stinking; and they are their gaolers so that they eat those foods, and they torment their souls.

"(34) And the business of Sarōsh the pious (and) victorious is that, that he guards all the world from the robber and fiends and calamities; (35) and thrice each night he goes through all the earth like a watch that they may keep watch; (36) and every night he battles seven times with the demon Hēshm, and restrains him from the world from doing evil.

"(37) And the business of the demon Hēshm is that, that he pours wrath and hatred into the heart of men; and he befriends all evil that comes into the world, and is a friend of sinners that they may be bolder in sin.

"(38) And these (are) the seven Amshāsfands whom the Creator Ōrmazd has created, and these duties He has bound upon them, and they approve. (39) And mankind should guard themselves from the way of the demons and return to the way of Ōrmazd and the Amshāsfands, and watch lest these demons prevail against them and drag them in the way of Āhriman, so that they may escape the trouble of this world and the retribution of that world."

The twelfth chapter of the same *Sad Dar*[1] contains a further paragraph which is relevant in the present connexion:

"(3) And mankind is in the shadow of me, Ōrmazd; and cattle of the Amshāsfand Bahman; and fire of the Amshāsfand Ardībihisht; and gold and silver and other metals of the Amshāsfand Shahrīvar and the earth of the Amshāsfand Asfandārmad; and water of the Amshāsfand Khurdād; and the wood and the tree and every vegetable are of the Amshāsfand Amurdād."

The same belief is recorded by the Arabic author al-Bīrūnī, who completed his *Chronology of Ancient Nations* about 1000 A.D., and who wrote as follows:[2] "Ardībahisht is the genius of fire and light, both elements stand in relation to him. God has ordered him to watch over these elements. . . . Shahrēwar . . . is the angel who is appointed to watch over the seven substances, gold, silver, and the other metals, on which rests all handicraft, and in consequence all the world and its inhabitants. . . . Isfandārmadh is charged with the care of the earth and with that of the good, chaste, and beneficent wife who loves her husband. . . . Harūdhā is the genius instructed to watch over the growth of the creation, of the trees and plants, and to keep off all impure substances from the water. . . . Murdādh is the angel appointed to guard the world and to produce vegetable food and drugs that are remedies against hunger, misery, and disease."

---

1 Ed. Dhabhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 81.

2 Tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 204, ll. 37-38; 207, ll. 7-10; 210, ll. 11-12; 205, ll. 6 8, 207, ll. 1-3. The passage regarding Bahman has been lost.

THE RELIGION OF THE ACHÆMENIDS,
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY D. MACKICHAN, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

Introduction

The investigation of the religion of the Achæmenids is of great importance not only to the explorer in the field of the ancient Iranian faith but also to the student of the Bible. In this investigation we encounter, however, certain difficulties, as some scholars question whether the Achæmenids were genuine Zoroastrians and hold different opinions as to the extent to which differences in religion existed as between Persia proper, Media, Bactria and the rest of Iran. To discuss these questions is not possible in this brief sketch. I refer my readers therefore to a dissertation which I have prepared for publication elsewhere[1] and also to similar studies of these questions by other writers.[2]

The Achæmenian Religion according to the old Persian Inscriptions

Even if we leave the Avesta entirely out of account we are still able to draw from other sources material for a study of the ancient Iranian religion. First and foremost we can attempt to sketch a picture of the religion of the Achæmenids on the basis of the old Persian inscriptions which have been preserved. This can be further supplemented through the use of the material which is furnished in inscriptions which *these monarchs caused to be written in non Iranian languages*. In the third place, numerous conclusions can be drawn from the information concerning the Achæmenids to be found in classical writers although evidence of this nature can possess only the value that is to be assigned *to the statements of foreign writers*. *Fourthly, it is further possible* to derive suggestions with reference to the religion of the later Achæmenids from isolated passages in the Pahlavi literature or in the Shahnama. And finally additional Oriental and other sources may be drawn upon to supplement these.

---

1 'Appearing in my "Indo-Iranian Series," published by the Columbia University Press.

2 A list will be found in my introductory article entitled "The Religion of the Achæmenian Kings," First Series, The Religion according to the Inscriptions, by A. V. W. J., with an appendix by L. H. Gray on the Non-Iranian Inscriptions, JAOS XXI, 160-184.

The following is a brief summary of the chief points in such an investigation. For a more thorough treatment of the subject I refer the reader to the treatise the publication of which has been promised above.

An examination of the religion of the Kings Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus from the objective standpoint, as furnished by their Iranian inscriptions, shews what emphasis was laid on the standing of Auramazda as the supreme god of Iran. But besides him other divinities (*baga*) were recognised and Mithra and Anāhita are expressly named at least in the later inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus. In *drauga* one can see a probable allusion to the evil principle. (*Cf.* also *dušiyāra*, *haina*, and *sara* occurring in the old Persian inscriptions). That there was a choice between Good and Evil seems to follow from the exhortation to follow the right path (*paδim tyām rāstām*) and the commandment of Auramazda (*hya auramaz dāhā framānā*). It has been suggested, it is true not without hesitation, that a reference to the Avesta may perhaps be found in the doubtful word *abaštām* or *abištām* (Bh. 4. 64) or, according to the reading conjectured by Foy, *arštām*.[1] Worship and prayer were regarded as acts of piety, there were also definite places of worship (*āyadanā*) regarding which, however, no more precise information is given. If sacred fires were maintained, as we know from classical writers that they were, we may assume that these were protected by some kind of building even though the Persians possessed no "temples" in the Greek sense of the word.[2] The rectangular building in the neighbourhood of the Achæmenid sepulchres at Nakshi Rustam has been conjecturally identified with the modern *sagrī*, the sanctuary of the sacred light, which up to the present day is maintained by the Parsīs beside their *dakhmas*.[3] In the inscriptions blessings and curses are invoked but of course they convey no exact information. The obligation always to speak the truth is strictly enjoined as a leading principle in their religious system and constitutes the foundation of the moral law. The standard of this moral law seems to us, so far as we are able to judge, to be somewhat lowered by the extremely cruel punishments which Darius, according to his edicts which have been engraved on the rock, decreed. We must, however, bear in mind that he had to deal with the enemies of his people and with traitors in a dangerous time. The above is the kind of impression concerning the religion of the ancient Persian Kings which we gather from the Iranian inscriptions.

1 K. Z. XXXV, 45 (*cf.* Jackson, JAOS, XXIV, 91-92).
2 *Cf.* Tiele, Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst, II, 362-364.
3 Particularly by Andreas.

The religion of the Achæmenids according to the non Iranian Inscriptions

From the old Persian texts only a partial solution of the difficult problem of the religion of the Achæmenids can be obtained The non Iranian inscriptions in Babylonian New-Susian Egyptian and Greek which were engraved at the order of their rulers supply new material of importance A list of these inscriptions will be found given by Weissbach Grundriss der iranischen Philologie II 63 64 My pupil, Dr Gray, has collected the material so far as it relates to religion and has added it as an appendix to the monograph previously mentioned [1] It is therefore, not necessary in this place to repeat this in detail

From the well known Babylonian Cylinder of Cyrus the Great we learn that this monarch gave himself out as the chosen of the god Merodach and claimed that he had come to bring back the banished gods to their home and to restore again the old state of things As regards Cambyses we can point to an Egyptian inscription on the Naophorian statue in the Vatican which inscription claims to characterise through the mouth of the priests the attitude of Cambyses towards their religion (*vide* Brugsch Thes Inscript Egypt , p 603) Cambyses ordains the restoration of the desecrated temple of the goddess Neit at Sais in Egypt, as also the selection of priests and acolytes in accordance with the Egyptian ritual Darius shews himself to be animated by the same spirit as Cambyses and Cyrus when he gives himself out as the son of Neit [2] On the stele of Darius at Chaluf line 5 there is an allusion to a worship offered to god by his (*i e* Darius's) seers Daressy in his discussion of this passage holds that these seers" are the Magi "since the Egyptian religion had no priests of this name '

In this connection a Greek inscription of Darius, which was discovered in 1886 at Deirmendshik in Magnesia, claims attention (*vide* G Cousin and G Deschamps Bull de corr hell XIII, 529 f) In this pronunciamento Darius praises his satrap Gadates the ruler of Asia Minor, for having promoted agriculture and the care of the land (quite a Zoroastrian touch) and, on the other hand blames him for having demanded taxes from the gardeners of a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo because the latter had thereby been compelled to bestow care on land that was not sacred, and thus the relation of the King to the gods had been disturbed [3] Some other expressions also referring to the religion in the Babylonian translations of old Persian texts have been discussed in the same monograph [4]

1 *Cf* The religion of the Achæmenians according to their non Iranian [illegible]

We gather from the inscriptions of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius that these monarchs showed great tolerance, indeed almost a complete forbearance, towards the foreign peoples made subject to them. At all events they adopted the attitude of the statesman rather than the rôle of the religious fanatic or bigoted devotee of their faith.

The religion of the Achæmenids according to references in classical literature.

For the detailed treatment of this subject I refer my readers again to the book which I have prepared and confine myself here to the general results. In the works of the classical writers are found numerous direct or indirect references to the faith of the Kings Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus and Darius Kodomannus. These are again, however, the statements of foreigners and there is room for different opinions as to the value of such testimonies. In point of time these statements range from the contemporaries of the later Achæmenids, such as Herodotus, Ktesias, Xenophon, and Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes down to later authors such as Strabo, Cicero, Plutarch, Nicolaus Damascenus, Arrian, Ammianus Marcellinus and others.[1] Here we have room only for the main conclusions that may be drawn from an exhaustive collection of the material which these supply. The results may be formulated as follows :—

The statements of the classical writers appear to indicate that the ancient Achæmenids were followers of the Magians. Each king is also represented as appealing to the gods (θεοι) or simply to God. The latter is designated by the name Ζεύς, Δία, by which according to the usual view Ormazd is understood.[2] In fact the name Ωρομάσδης appears in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Also the name of Ahriman (Ἀρειμάνιος) is cited, and that by Aristotle. The name of the Persian divinity Mithra appears to have been much better known to the Greeks generally than the name of the divinity Anaitis. This agrees with the notice to be found in Herodotus. The worship of this female divinity was more popular from the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon onwards. Allusions to sun-worship and fire-worship are very frequent. Also offerings and omens are often enough mentioned, most frequently indeed in connection with the earlier kings, although by no means confined to them.[3] This at least in part is purely accidental. Information with regard to acts of worship and ritual and observances is found in

1 The material is available partly in Kleuker's Zend Avesta, appendix and in Rapp. ZDMG, XIX-XX.

2 Although Spiegel EA, II, 190, following Hesychius assumes that "heaven" is meant and not Ormazd. Similarly, Dr. J. A. Moulton (orally stated)

3 Cf. Jackson, Zoroaster the prophet, pp. 241-243.

every epoch. Temples and images appear first in the time of the later monarchs We have already referred to the mention of Ahriman by Aristotle, in certain actions of Cambyses, Xerxes and his wife Amestris, the existence of a latent devil worship reveals itself

In numerous instances the most anxious care for the elements, fire, earth and water, may be observed, yet we must not omit to notice certain striking violations of these precautionary measures There seems also to be involved in some passages a reference to the belief in a future life The name of Zoroaster is not directly mentioned in any passage in the classical writers in connection with any one of the Achæmenid kings, and nowhere is his religious system expressly exhibited as that of any of these monarchs Plato's Alcibiades (121 E to 122 A) asserts that the children of royal blood were reared in the "Magism of Zoroaster the Ormazdian" It must be admitted that the Amesha Spentas are not expressly named in direct connection with the Achæmenids, but the belief in them can be traced back to the time of Theopompus (4 centuries B C) and is without doubt much older, as I have already indicated in another section of my dissertation In this connection I refer again to the conjectural explanation of the Achæmenid names Ἀρταβανος, Οξυαρτης, Αξαθρης With regard to the kings Artaxerxes I, II, III and Darius Kodomannus we may assume that they were genuine adherents of Zoroaster so far as we can draw any conclusion from the classical notices regarding Ormazd, Ahriman, Anāhita, Mithra and religious usages as also from scattered allusions in other sources The accounts given by the classical writers in these passages completely agree with the statements found in the other sources With regard to Cyrus, Cambyses Darius and Xerxes, as these are represented in the classical authors, we must provisionally abstain from coming to a decision The evidence of the classical authors permits us safely to conjecture that all these rulers were worshippers of God, i e, of Ormazd, even if we had not the old Persian inscriptions at hand to prove that they were Mazdayasnians Also the classical writers represent these, as well as the later monarchs also as adherents of the Magi in spite of the Magophony (slaughter of the Magi) of Darius. We reserve a more minute discussion of this subject for a later stage.

The religion of the Achæmenids according to Pahlavi literature

In the Pahlavi texts are found only two or three references which are of value in relation to the question which occupies us, but they are of special interest in so far as they reproduce the tradition of the Zoroastrians They are found in the Dēnkart in the Būndahishn and in the Pahlavi Vohūman or Bahman Yasht The Dēnkart

belongs to the 9th century of our era, the Būndahishn is somewhat older and its material is certainly ancient although parts of this compilation, especially the last chapter which comes under our consideration along with the rest, may have had their origin in the 11th or even the 12th century.[1] The Bahman Yasht is to be placed probably somewhere about the 12th century.[2] The value of these references rests, therefore, not on their antiquity but on the fact that we have here to do with ancient traditions. These scattered references are besides of real value only so far as the kings of the Zoroastrian legends can be really identified with the historical kings of the Achæmenid dynasty. A passage in the Būndahishn (Bd. 34, pp. 7-8) discussed by me in detail in "Zoroaster the prophet," p. 158, gives in order the names and the legendary periods of the reigns. Like others before me I have compared these reigns with the historical reigns of the Achæmenids according to Western Chronology (*cf.* Zoroaster, p. 160) and have developed my reasons for the identification of the long reign of Vohūman, the son of Spend-dāt, to whom the Pahlavi texts give also the name of Artakhshatr (*i.e.*, Artaxerxes, Ardashīr Dirāzdast "the long handed") with that of Artaxerxes Longimanus or Μακρόχειρ.[3]

Now assuming that this identification is correct, there is still an interesting passage to which we must call attention on account of its significance for the religious side of the matter. The passage is Byt. 2. 17-18 (*cf.* West, SBE, V, 198-199). This text enumerates the different periods of the religion as follows :—"that which was of silver was the reign of Artashir the Kayānian (Kaī) whom they call Vohūman, the son of Spend-dāt, who is the one who separates the demons from men, disperses them and vindicates the authority of religion in the whole world. That which was of bronze was the reign of Artashīr (*i.e.*, of Pāpakān), the regulator and restorer of the world and that of king Shahpūr." This reference to Artashīr of the tribe of the Kayânids who drives the demons into the flood and vindicates the authority of religion in the world surely deserves consideration in spite of its date. It follows from this that Zoroastrianism during the reign of Artakhshatr Dirāzdast found acceptance throughout the whole of Iran. This reference acquires very special significance in connection with the clearly established

---

1 See West, on the Extent, Language and Age of Pahlavi Literature, SBAM., 1888, pp. 433, 434, 436.

2 According to Darmesteter's statement 1039-1350. A.D. *Cf.* Etudes Iraniennes, II, 69.

3 See Bd. 31-30; Byt. 2-17, and add thereto Shatro'hā-i Airān, ed. Modi, §§34, 51, "Ardashir of Spenda-dād"; although Noldeke, Grundriss II, 141, attaches no high value to this identification. *Cf.* also Browne, Lit. Hist, of Persia. p. 117.

Zoroastrianism of Artaxerxes I, II, III according to the classical writers and the inscriptions since it thus gives to the generally accepted identification which rests on an historical foundation, also the necessary support from the religious side

There has never been any doubt with regard to the religion of the last Darius (Pahlavi, Dārāi Dārāyān) or Darius Kodomannus so far as may be inferred from classical authors and other sources while the Pahlavi literature bears also direct testimony to this from the Zoroastrian side The passage relevant to this is found in the Dēnkart (Dk 4 23 *cf* SBE 37 413) "Dārāi, son of Dārāi ordained that two copies of the entire Avesta and Zand according to the style and manner in which Zaratusht had received it from Auharmazd should be preserved one in the treasure room of Shapīgān and one in the fortress of written documents [1] This prevents all doubt as to the orthodoxy of the last Achæmenid, the monarch who was overthrown by Alexander

For two of the Achæmenids their adherence to the Zoroastrian faith is thus established also by Pahlavi tradition I have not yet found a Sāsānid text which is said to refer to the religion of Darius Dārāi ī Cihar āzāt and Humāī If the latter, as West Mohl and others hold, though not without hesitation can be identified with Parysatis and the former can be connected with Artaxerxes Ochus (362 340 B C) which perhaps also may be doubtful this would at least shew that Zoroastrian tradition regarded these two monarchs as followers of the true faith

If we could only identify with definiteness King Vishtāsp, the great Protector of Zoroastrianism all would become much clearer We are here face to face with a much debated question (see my work ' Zoroaster the prophet ') It is quite uncertain whether the long reign of 120 years is intended only to give the length of the reign in round numbers or to denote a short lived dynasty In the latter case we might assume that the name Vishtāsp covers the period of kings Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes [2] Or we might conjecture that the reign represents the Bactrian rule down to Artaxerxes and assume that Zoroastrianism then became the ruling faith of Persia (*cf* "Zoroaster,' p 160) But this is very doubtful Whoever the historical Vishtāsp may have been, he was in any case the champion and protector of the Zoroastrian teaching I would like to call attention only to one point in the Pahlavi literature in connection with the classical writers It is a passage in the Dēnkart (9 69 58 *cf* West SBE, 37 397) in which mention is made of the Magism

---

1 The treasure room seems to have been at Samarcand, the fortress of the Archives at Persepolis See Modi Shatroika I Airan pp 55 133 136

2 See West, SBE, V, 150 115, and my work, Zoroaster the prophet, p 160

of Vishtāsp. It runs thus :—"On account of the Magism of Ka-Vishtāsp he was suited for the position of monarch:" This is of interest when we take it in connection with the statement regarding the Magian doctrines of Hystaspes which is found in Ammianus Marcellinus 23. 6, 32-34. Zoroaster is the Magian κατ' ἐξοχήν; See Dk. 9. 69. 58 (Translation of Ys. 51, 15); Dk. 4. 21 and 4. 34, *cf.* SBE, 37. 412, 417.

To sum up briefly what has been said. The difficulty in dealing with the notices in Pahlavi sources lies in this that the identifications with the earlier Achæmenids are in the highest degree uncertain. So far, however, as the later monarchs are concerned there are good grounds for the assumption that the Pahlavi texts regard the Zoroastrian faith as the religion of Artaxerxes I, II, III and Darius Kodomannus. If only Vishtāsp could be definitely identified we should have ample guidance.

The religion of the Achæmenids according to Firdausi's Shānāma.

Firdausi's great Persian Epic (940-1020) stands in very much the same relation to the Achæmenids as the Pahlavi literature. It deviates little from the spirit of the latter; only it has a poetic colouring instead of the priestly stamp. The genealogical tree, Gushtāsp, Bahman, Humāī, Dārāb and Dārā is the same. It is a question how much weight is to be attached to its statements. It is sufficient to refer to it briefly. For convenience the relevant passages are here quoted from the Vullers-Landauer Edition of the Shāhnāma (Vol. 3) and Mohl's Translation (Vol. 5) conjointly.

As regards Gushtāsp, the protector of Zoroaster, a discussion on his precise identification would present almost the same features as we found in the case of the Pahlavi literature. The history of his conversion is sufficiently known through the verses of Daqīqī incorporated in the Shāhnāma and need not be here repeated.

The king next in order, Bahman, is said to have married his own daughter "which the Pahlavi religion permits" (Vullero-Landauer, p. 1756; Mohl, p. 5). Further Firdousi in genuine Zoroastrian fashion assigns to him "Dasturs" as Counsellors (VL. 1754, 1755; Mohl 9, 10). Bahman also acknowledges God whom he calls "Creator" and the inexorable power of "fate." (VL. 1748, 1750, 1754, 1755; M. 1, 4, 9, 10), Farāmurz, the king's enemy, mentions the "resurrection" (rastaxīz. VL. 1753; M. 8.) and Bahman provides a "funeral vault for the body" of this estimable enemy of his who is slain in battle (VL. 1755; M. 10).

When Humāī hears that her son Dārāb is still alive she celebrates the joyful tidings by lavishing rich gifts at every place "where she knew there was a fire-temple or only a Zend-Awesta or a place where

the fire-festival Sadah could be celebrated (VL 1772, M 32) she crowns him by the grace of "God the Creator" (VL 1773, M 34) and commends him to the favour of "the Mōbed" (VL 1773 74, M 34 35)

Dārāb likewise recognises the Zend-Awesta as the holy scripture to be studied (VL 1763, M 20) At the time of his ascending the throne he delivers a speech both to the Mobeds and his nobles (VL 1775, M 37) and ascribes to God all the blessings which have been bestowed on him (VL 1776, M 38) In this capital, Dārāl gird "he consecrates a fire on the summit of the mountain and the worshippers assemble themselves in crowds" (VL 1776, M 38) His first wife although she is the daughter of the king of Rūm is named by Firdausi Nāhid, i e Anāhita (VL 1772 81, M 42-45), the month "Mihr" is also mentioned (VL 1779 M 52)

Dārā the last of his dynasty, is assassinated by two of his "desturs" after he had been defeated by Alexander (VL 1799 1800 1804, M 67 69, 71) His last words (VL 1803, M 73) are "characteristically Zoroastrian"[1] He refers to the "fire of Zardusht" to the Zend Awesta, to omens, to the Sadah and New Year Festival and to the fire temple, still further to Ormazd, to the Moon, the Sun and Mihr (VL 1803, M 73) He lays emphatic stress on his dependence on "the religion" and commends in dying "his soul to God" (VL 1803, M 73) Alexander causes a tomb to be erected for "the corpse" and the corpse to be covered with camphor and performs for the royal dead everything which was in accordance with the "custom of the Kayanians (VL 1803, M. 73, 74) This general description especially the mention of the tomb which is a reminiscence of Nakshi Rustam and Tal hie Jamshed should be compared with the description by the Pseudo Callisthenes[2]

We now pursue the history of the Iranian religion from the time of the Achæmenids to its final catastrophe through the Muhammadan conquest in the 7th century and after that the fortunes of the little band which continued to hold fast to its ancient faith and is to-day the sole representative of Zoroastrianism To sum up this history in brief, the thousand years between Alexander and Muhammad was first of all a period of apparent decline under the Seleucid rule, then one of fall in the time of the Parthian rule, later however one of gradual rise and brilliant

The religion after the time of Alexander The Parthian Dominion, the Sasanid dynasty; sects and schisms the Muhammadan conquest and the later history of the religion including modern Zoroastrianism.

[1] See Budge Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, pp 83, 93, London, 1896, and History of Alexander, p 52, Cambridge, 1889.

[2] Cf Justi, Grundriss II, 481 483

efflorescence in the period of the Sasanids until finally Zoroastrianism was brought to its fall by the invasion of the Arabs and the victory of Islam.

The invasion of Alexander and the Græco-Bactrian rule (350-250 B.C.).

The appearance on the scene of the Macedonian conqueror brought about a revolution both in the religion and in the historical development of Persia. In the eyes of the Zoroastrians Alexander is ever the accursed Iskander, the predestined tyrant of evil omen who caused the sacred books of Iran to be burned and to whom all the later misfortunes of their religion are ascribed. Without doubt Alexander is to blame for many an evil; in consequence of his wars of conquest changes were inevitable. The Græco-Bactrian rule of the Seleucids who reigned for a space of 70 years as the successors of Alexander may well have exercised a certain influence on the civilization of the Iranians in general and especially on their religion; but it is well nigh impossible to adduce anything definite under this head. We must only keep before our eyes the fact that the Greek spirit again acquired significance in Iran just as in the time of the Græco-Persian wars of kings Darius and Xerxes.

The Parthian rule. The period of decline in the history of Zoroastrianism, 250 B.C. —220. A.D.

The Zoroastrian religion lived on during the Parthian rule of the Arsacids although grievously shaken by the invasion of Alexander. We may assume with good ground that the Parthians adhered to the Iranian faith and from the earliest times were Zoroastrians. The old Parthian names Artabanos, Phraates and Mithridates as well as also Orthagnes (Aw. *vərəθγaγna*) support this assumption and Isodorus of Charax testifies that an everlasting fire burned at Asaak, the birthplace of Arsakes, the first Parthian King.[1] Coins of this period shew also altars for the fire and beside the image of Ahura Mazda are found on them also those of other Zoroastrian divinities.[2] Archæological discoveries prove that the Parthians buried their dead in coffins of baked earth or of stone just as the old Persians, according to Herodotus, encased the bodies of their dead in wax.[3] These coffins may, however, have been really Astōdāns.[4] It is besides well-known that Volagases I (51-78 A.D.) lived undoubtedly according to the religious rules of Zoroastrianism and that under his rule a beginning was made in the collection of the Zoroastrian Scriptures. A revival of

1 For proofs see Justi, Grundriss II., 486, N. 6 and 507 N. 4.

2 See Herodotus I., 140, Strabo XV, 3, S 20 and Dieulafoy L'art antique de la Perse V. 35. Paris, 1884.

3 See an interesting paper on the Astōdāns by J. J. Modi, Bombay, 1889.

4 *Cf.* Darmesteter, SBE, IV, 2. ed. XXXVIII—XL.

Zoroastrianism was at hand In conclusion it is still to be remarked that there are sufficient proofs before us for the assertion that the general character of the Parthian faith was that of Zoroastrianism, while, however, the subject has not yet been sufficiently investigated to enable us to settle the details more precisely

The Sasanid Period The Zoroastrian Renaissance A 400 years' period of Efflorescence

With the accession of the Sasanids to the throne the ancient faith of the Prophet again attained to its former splendour and flourished as never before All the members of the Sasanid dynasty were zealous Zoroastrians and spread the doctrines of Zaratushta in all directions In their inscriptions and sculptures these kings represent themselves as receiving the throne by divine right direct from Ormazd precisely as their Achæmenid ancestors had done at an earlier period Anāhita is also represented in these sculptures [1] Zoroaster is the recognised founder of the religion and the Awesta with its Pahlavi translation the law and gospel of Iran The general history of the Mazdayasnian religion under this dynasty is too well known to make it necessary for us to recapitulate it here Its chief features have been unfolded in the description of the religion given above For details it is sufficient to refer the reader to a collection made from the older Pahlavi literature and a work dealing with this subject by Casartelli [2]

Sects and schisms Manichæism and the Mazdak heresy

Although Zoroastrianism was the State religion of Iran it was however, not free from sectarianism and the disturbing influence of heretical doctrines In Zoroastrianism, as in most religions sects and schisms were inevitable The Gāthās of the Awesta present examples of heretics such as Grēhma and others, and the very *first chapter of the Vendidad proves that even* so Zoroastrian an institution as the Dakhma did not enjoy general acceptance in Iran We see clearly from the writings of the Armenian Moses of Khorene that in his time there were several sects who held different views in regard to its dualism and its doctrine of the origin of Ahriman, and the fellow countrymen and contemporaries of this chronicler, *viz*, Eznik Elisæus and Thomas Aizrouni, confirm this [3]

One of the most important passages with reference to the Zoroastrian sects is, however that which is found in Shahrastāni [4]

---

1 *Cf* Justi, Grundriss II, 519

2 [illegible] ahids, English translation

3 [illegible]

4 Shahrastani's Religious Parties and Philosophical Schools translated by Haarbrücker I, 275 ff, Halle, 1850

(1086-1133 A.D.) who gives the names of three principal sects. The adherents of the first, the Zaradushtians, follow Zoroaster; those of the second called Zervanites maintained that Ahriman had sprung from Zervan, while the Gayomarthians represented to themselves Ahriman as having proceeded from Ormazd in a moment of doubt. One or two passages in the Awesta may possibly be adduced in proof of the existence of these different doctrines or may perhaps be the source from which these arose through individual or erroneous interpretation ; but we lack here the material necessary for a judgment because the triumph of the orthodox doctrine consigned to oblivion most of the views which deviated from it.

After these remarks by way of introduction we turn now at once to the schismatic system of Mānī which came near to shaking the throne just at the moment when the second Sasanid ruler Sapor entered upon his reign ; thereafter we shall consider also the heretical communistic doctrines of Mazdak which at one time, when the Empire stood almost at the zenith of its power, threatened the national peace.

Manichæism, the first of these two schismatic systems, was a kind of eclecticism, and although it cannot be described as, strictly speaking, a Zoroastrian sect, still it represents a heretical movement in Persia which was combated and execrated as violently by orthodox Zoroastrianism as by orthodox Christianity. The history of Manichæism is too special a subject and has already been so often described that nothing more is necessary here than the mere mention of it. The principal facts concerning it have been set forth already by Justi (Grundriss II, 579). It will suffice here to cite only the chief points in the life history of Māni. His father was a Persian whose birth-place was Hamadān. The various influences that worked on him appear to have suggested to him the idea of establishing an eclectic religion by drawing chiefly on Zoroastrianism and Christianity along with, it would appear, the borrowing of subordinate elements taken from the Babylonian faith and possibly also a Buddhistic colouring. It is related that he presented himself before Sapor the king as a prophet on the very day of the coronation of this monarch on the 20th March 242 A.D. He soon, however, fell into disfavour and was banished from Iran. He then journeyed to the Far East, to India, China and Tibet, returned later, however to Persia where under Bahrām I (about 244 A.D.) he was executed. For the doctrines of Mānī we refer our readers to this volume of the Grundriss, p. 520, and the works there cited.[1] It should be added that it is thought

[1] I add the bibliographical references: Spiegel, E.A, II., 195-232 ; Rochat, Essai sur Mani et sa Doctrine, Geneva, 1897 ; Browne, Literary History of Persia, pp. 154-166, London, 1902.

that traces of Manichæism are still to be seen in some of the teachings of the Yezīdi of to day, the so-called devil worshippers [1]

The heresy of Mazdak came to light full 300 years later than Manichæism and this new schismatic system with its socialistic and communistic ideas endangered for a short time not only the existence of the Government but also the supremacy of the Zoroastrian faith itself Indeed there is still to be found in a Pahlavi Commentary on the passage in the Vendidad 4 49 a condemnatory allusion to this heresy in the sentence in which the unrighteous Ashemaogha (heretic) "who eats not" is mentioned The Pahlavi gloss adds "such as Mazdak, the son of Bāmdādh"

Mazdak came upon the scene as a reformer during the reign of Nūshirvān the Just (531 578 A D) and began to spread his heretical ideas of extreme socialism in the State and an absolute community of goods which he himself extended to the wives of others He preached, however, the value of asceticism as a higher ideal and advised the renunciation of all pleasures and abstinence from animal food It is to this last point that the Pahlavi gloss alludes As we have already in an earlier dissertation detailed the general features of the Mazdakian heresy, we can dispense with the repetition of them here [3] The further spread of these socialistic and communistic doctrines was violently prevented by the treacherous murder of Mazdak and most of his intimate adherents (528 529 A D), but remnants of his followers continued long after and even in still later times some traces of the movement have, it is thought been detected [4] It may be suggested further, that the simple fact of the existence of such heretical movements as Manichæism and Mazdakism is an indication of the presence of those germs of decay which foreshadowed the final collapse of the national faith in Persia

The Muhammadan conquest and its consequences

The death of Yezdegerd and the overthrow of the Sasanid dynasty (651 652 A D) by Islam had also the downfall of Zoroastrianism as the national religion as its consequence The leathern apron revered from antiquity of Kaveh the blacksmith and the eagle, the ancient emblem of Persian power, sunk into the dust before the crescent and the green banner unfurled by Arabia Ormazd gave

[1] *Cf* Spiro, Les Yezidi on les adorateurs du Diable, Neuchatel 1900 J Menant, Les Yezidis, Paus, 1892

55 467, Spiegel, E A, II 168 172,

[4] *Cf* Browne, I p [illegible]

place to Allah, Zoroaster to Muhammad; the Awesta was supplanted by the Koran and the song of the Magian priest was drowned by the Muezzin who from the minaret of the mosque calls the faithful to prayer. The Iranian religion as a national faith had practically ceased to exist, and with this our recital might have ended if the fire of the dying faith had not continued to glow under the ashes, to burst once more into a clear flame which goes on burning up to the present day. We are not to imagine that the conversion of Persia to Islam took place all at once or that only the choice between death and the Koran was left to the Zoroastrians. Without question there were indeed persecutions; but over and above compulsion there were many things which led to the acceptance of the new faith, a step which, in view of the many elements taken over by the Moslem system from the Zoroastrian faith, was ultimately not so very difficult.[1] Whole crowds of Persians availed themselves, doubtless, of the opportunity offered them. The relations between Persia and Arabia which for a considerable time had been becoming more active are also to be taken account of as factors in the process.[2] Nevertheless we have ample evidence of the survival of the faith throughout the next three centuries. One needs only to point to the interest shewn by Firdausi and the entire Eastern Iran in Zoroastrianism, not to mention the distinctly visible influence which it undoubtedly exercised in bringing about sectarian movements within Muhammadanism in Persia itself. But it is undeniable that the ancient faith as a State-religion had ceased to exist. The best evidence of this is furnished by the pitiable condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia to-day and the presence of the Parsis in India, a foreign country.

The Zoroastrians of Persia at the present day frequently called Gheber.

Those Persian Zoroastrians who resisted conversion to Islam and remained true to their religion in spite of all persecution were called, Gabar, Gueber, Gheber or Ghaver (Turkish *Geour* or *Ghaur*). They form only a small community about 8,000 to 9,000 strong and together with the Parsis of Bombay are the only representatives of the ancient Iranian faith. In literature, for example in Moore's Lalla Rookh and in Byron's Giaour, the name, as is well known, designates an unbeliever, and is also in this sense applied to the

[1] *Cf.* Gray, Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammadan Eschatology, Muséon Ns. III, 153-184; Goldziher, Islamisme et Parsisme, Rev. de l'hist. des. rel., XLIII, p. 29.

[2] Interesting information regarding the spread of Muhammadanism in Persia is found in T. W. Arnold, the Preaching of Islam, London, 1896; references to the names of the first Parsi converts to Islam are to be found in Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, pp. 200-203.

Persian fire-worshippers. The origin of this designation is uncertain. Some would derive it from the Arabic *Kāfir*, "unbeliever" and others from *Khabār* "Magian," properly "companion" (*Cf. Khābar* "to bind, to practise Magic"), in the Talmud (Kiddushin 72 a, &c). If a bold conjecture may be permitted one would be tempted to connect the word with the Pahlavi word *gabrā* borrowed from the Aramaic (*Cf.* Syr *gabrā*, Biblical Aramaic gebar = "vir"), which is also applied to the Zoroastrians in the forms *Mōg gabrā*, *Magoi gabra* (Paz *magōi-mart*) or "Magian man" The next step would then be a generalization of the meaning in the sense of "people, gentiles," with the contemptuous secondary signification "paganus, unbeliever" The Muhammadans call these remnants of the ancient Zoroastrians also *Ātasparast* "fire-worshippers"; other designations are *Majus* from the Magi their ancient priesthood, or also *Fārsi*, *i e*, *Pārsi*, from Fārs or *Pārs*, the name of the Persian province They call themselves *Beh dīnān*, "those of the good faith."

The fortunes of these adherents of the ancient Persian faith were subjected to many vicissitudes In as much as they deviated from the recognised Muhammadan faith they were regarded with mistrust and hatred Subjected to the *Jizya* or poll tax, because they did not serve in the ranks of the Islamic army they were excluded from all State appointments In consequence of this their number in Persia has gradually diminished So great, in fact, has been this decline that within the last two centuries they have sunk from nearly 100 000 to less than 9,000. Although, by reason of the oppressions which they suffered, deeply sunk in poverty and ignorance, they have clung to their ancient faith, and in later years, thanks to the praiseworthy efforts of the Parsis in India and the more liberal rule of Persia in these days, their fortunes have improved This improvement has made itself felt especially in the last generation, and still much is being done to secure again for them a fitting religious position in the land of their birth The bonds which unite the Zoroastrians in India with their co religionists and fellow-countrymen in the ancient Persian home are becoming closer and closer every year The Persian Gheber are to be found chiefly in Yazd and Kirmān and in smaller numbers at Teherān, Isfahān, Shīrāz and in the neighbourhood of the everlasting fire of the naphtha springs at Bākū whither business interests have attracted them But scattered as they are, oppressed as they were, they have always kept alive the sparks of their expiring civilization and still continue to enjoy a high reputation for honesty, uprightness morality and obedience to the law These are the same characteristics which are found preserved among

their more fortunate brethren in India, and like these the Zoroastrian Irani can boast that they are men of "the good faith."[1]

The Parsis or Zoroastrians of India.

As already explained in the preceding section, the name Parsī (Persian and Hindustani *Pārsi*) signifies literally an inhabitant of Pārs or as it stands in Old-Persian Pārsa. Although still occasionally applied to the Zoroastrians in Persia, this name is more generally used to designate the worshippers of Ormazd in India. The history of these exiles who sought in India religious freedom is extremely interesting. Less than 100 years after the Arab conquest a considerable number of Zoroastrians resolved to leave Persia. They marched, forming with their priests a compact community, southwards to the city of Ormuz situated on the Persian Gulf.[2] After they had lived there for about 15 years they decided to settle on the coast of India and landed first on the island of Diu near the coast of Kāthiāvār. Here they remained 19 years till they were led by circumstances to push further south to Gujarāt. They landed at Sanjān (716 A.D.) and found a resting place there among the tolerant Hindus. They received permission to settle there if they would conform to certain simple regulations, which they agreed to do. Thus Sanjān and the surrounding district then became their new home. In the year 775 A.D. a second band of their co-religionists appears to have joined these pioneers, and together they founded an industrious community which flourished for 500 years. In the year 1315 A.D. the Muhammadans who at this time invaded India made an attack on the Parsis of Sanjān who had allied themselves with their Hindu protectors. The allies were defeated, Sanjān was destroyed and the Parsis had to flee to the mountains of Bhārhut where they, however, nourished the sacred fire and maintained their ancient customs and ceremonies. When the fanatical Muhammadan rule became somewhat relaxed and gradually fell into decay, the Parsis seem again to have regained their prosperity, as is evident from their own writings and also from accounts given by Europeans. So marked was this rise that in the 16th and 17th centuries we find the Zoroastrians widely distributed over Gujarat, especially at Surat, Navsari and Bombay and at any place which offered them an opportunity for making their way especially

[1] *Cf.* Houtum Schindler—Die Parsen in Indien, ZDMG, XXXVI, 54-88; Browne, A Year amongst the Persians, London, 1893; Sykes, Two Thousand Miles in Iran, London, 1902.

[2] The history of these fugitives is found sketched in a rhymed chronicle, *Kissah-i-Sanjan* written about 1600, A.D. translated in JBBRAS, I, 167-191. See also J. J. Modi in XXI (the same Journal), Art 2 (1900-1902).

in the business line The settlement of the Parsis at Bombay, which is at present their chief centre, belongs to the time of the Portuguese rule (1530 1666 A D) The Presidency of Bombay has remained since that time the centre of the Parsi population of India although one comes across branches of this community in places as far north as Peshâwar, as far east as Calcutta, and as far south as Madras or even Ceylon Almost all the Parsis are well to-do and some of them are very wealthy They are often called the Jews of India and they themselves often allude to this comparison

In religion these followers of Zarathushtra have remained true, on the whole, to the doctrines of their ancient faith In consequence, however, of their migration from Persia and their contact with Hindus and other non Zoroastrians some changes have here and there crept into their customs Nor have they been able to keep themselves free from religious controversy among themselves, and this, many a time, of a very serious character As early as the year 1686 it appears there arose a violent strife for pre eminence between the priests of Navsâri and the original spiritual leaders of Sanjân In the beginning of the 18th century another controversy emerged, this time concerning the Calendar which, in India, on account of the proper insertion of the intercalary month having been neglected, had gradually fallen behind that of the Persian Zoroastrians by a month This actually resulted in a division of the Parsi community into two sects—the Shehanshahi and the Kadmi The former stuck to the usual Indian reckoning of the months without the intercalary month, while the latter adopted the Persian reckoning with the intercalation, and thus the Shehanshahi calendar remains till now a month behind that of the Kadmi [1] In spite of this and other minor differences of opinion there is still agreement between the different sects in regard to the chief points in their doctrine the God Ormuzd, the Prophet Zarathushtra, their common belief in angels and archangels, Amshaspands and Izads, they also observe the same ceremonies, feasts fasts, customs and usages In point of theology they are strictly monotheistic, but faith in a resurrection of the body appears at present to be less pronounced among them than might be expected, to judge from their sacred scriptures So far as their doctrine of spiritual authority is concerned, the infallibility of their dasturs has been called in question without hesitation by the less strict conformists, but they still all agree in this that they recognise the religious leadership of their spiritual supreme heads

---

1 See Seervai and Patel, Gujarat Parsis, p 11

The Parsis have, from the most ancient times, as appears from the statements of Herodotus, Strabo and others, clung fast to the idea of ceremonial purification. The most painful care is taken to preserve the elements, earth, fire and water, from the least defilement, especially through contact with any dead body. Even to-day no strictly orthodox Parsi would spit into the fire or blow out a light, although on the other hand in practical life concessions have to be made, and indeed Parsis are permitted to serve in the Fire Brigade of Bombay. Many of the less strict have acquired the habit of tobacco-smoking, although this cannot be brought into accord with the doctrines of their faith. Against the name "fire-worshipper" so often applied to them they enter a decided protest and quote the Awesta and the Pahlavi literature to prove the spirituality of their faith in the existence or presence of Ormazd behind the flaming symbol, maintaining that this is only one of the sacred emblems of his beneficent power. As in the days of the Awesta they continue to wear the sacred-shirt and the sacred-thread (now named *Sūdrah* and *Kusti*)[1] and the priestly class is distinguished by the spotless purity of its flowing garments of white linen. In this dress and with their full beard they cannot help reminding us of the representations of the Magian priests depicted in the Old-Persian Sculptures.

Some of the Parsi usages of to-day in connection with birth and marriage show possibly slight traces of Indian influence ; but the Parsi usages associated with death have preserved their ancient peculiar character unimpaired. As is generally known, the Parsis expose the bodies of the dead on the *dakhmas* or Towers of Silence to be devoured by vultures. In this they follow strictly the precepts of the Awesta, although many a time circumstances beyond their control compel them to abandon this ancient and peculiar method of disposing of their dead.

With reference to morality and ethics it is clear that the ancient Zoroastrian teaching still continues to bear fruit if one may judge from the Parsis of to-day. In matters of upbringing, especially in the better education of their women, they are quite advanced for Orientals. In fact they are inclined in all that makes for progress to follow European models. There obtains amongst them a growing endeavour to spread the knowledge of their ancient literature, and every year numerous editions and new reprints of the Awesta and the Pahlavi scriptures and translations of them are published by them. Their charity, liberality

---

[1] See Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp Asaṇa. A short treatise on the Navjot Ceremony, Bombay, 1887.

and philanthropy are celebrated; they strive to live according to the Awesta motto—*Humata Hūxta Hvaršta*—good thoughts, good words, good deeds. This ideal and the manner in which they realize it, together with their very great wealth, makes this small community in spite of its limited numbers—it amounts to about 90 000 persons—a power for good in the world and an enduring example of certain ideal characteristics which from of old were inherent in the system of faith established by Zoroaster more than twenty-five centuries ago.[1]

Worship, Rites and Ceremonies, Religious Customs.

From what has been said above we are able to form a general idea of the leading doctrines of the Iranian faith; it remains still to supplement this by a brief description of the rites and ceremonies the observance of which the Zoroastrian religion in all periods of its history enjoined upon its followers. Most of these usages are observed down to the present day by the small band which clings to the old faith.

Belief and Worship.

Belief in the "good religion of Mazda" and the practice of good thoughts, good words and good deeds and along with this the renouncing of evil thoughts, words and deeds was one of the first demands which was made on the believing Zoroastrian. The most important articles of the faith are found briefly summed up in Yasna 12, the Confession of Faith of Zoroastrianism. The abjuring of the service of the Daevas, faith in Ahura Mazda, recognition of the Amesha Spentas, the promise to protect homesteads, not to molest the breeder of cattle, to restrain oneself from all deeds of violence, as also thanksgiving to Ahura Mazda for all good, a vow to shun the evil, most especially lying, and to practise the good—including the belief in *qaētvadaθa*—these are the chief articles of faith enumerated in this passage. Throughout the entire Awesta the leading ideas—sacrifice, prayer, atonement and thanksgiving or the offering of praise to the divinities (*Cf. yasnaiča vahmāiča xšnaoϑraiča frasastayaēča*)—occur again and again and mark consequently the fundamental features of religious service. Zoroaster in the Gāthās continually invokes Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas with whom he enters into close converse in his visions. In the Yashts the heroes and defenders of the faith turn to the divinities for help and offer sacrifices to them in order to propitiate them.[2] The gods are also by no means indifferent to the

[1] For details consult Dosabhai Framji Karaka, History of the Parsis in 2 vols., London, 1884; Servanian & Patel Gujarat Parsis, Bombay, 1898; D. Menant Les Parsis: Histoire des communautés Zoroastriennes de l'Inde, Paris, 1898.

[2] Yt. 5. 17, 21, 25, 33, 37, 45, 49, 53, 61, 68, 72, 76, 81, 104, 108, 112; 9. 3, 8, 13, 21, 25, 29; 15. 7, 11, 15, 23, 27, 31, 35; 16. 2, 19; 17. 24, 28, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49.

help which is offered them in such acts of worship on the part of the faithful, as is proved by the conflict between Tishtrya and the demon Apaosha (Yt. 8).

In the Old-Persian inscriptions Darius prays to Ahuramazda to maintain his kingdom and his people and gratefully ascribes all his successes to the favour of Ahuramazda.[1] The passages quoted above from classical authors confirm in general what has just been said, so far as the Achæmenids are concerned, and the Pahlavi books of a later time shew that the Sasanid rulers manifested the same devotion of faith.

Divine Service and Ritual.

The description of the Magian ritual to be found in Herodotus is of value since it probably is based upon personal observation, and it is interesting to compare it with the Awesta and the modern rites of the Parsis. Herodotus calls attention to the fact that the Persians had no temple; probably they had none that the Greeks would have regarded as such. All the same there must have been places of worship as appears from the *āyādana* of the Old-Persian inscriptions (Bh. 1-63), and the Awesta itself speaks of altars or at least of places intended for the "fire" (*dāitya gātu*, Vol. 8. 81 ; 13. 17). We have already suggested above that the rectangular building near the graves of the Achæmenids was probably a *sagrī*. It is not inconceivable that the rectangular platform with steps may also have served as a kind of altar. It is at any rate reasonable to conjecture with Tiele that some structure or other was used for the protection of the sacred fire.[2]

We have also above called attention to some temples existing in the time of Artaxerxes. We may safely assume that the fire-temples of the Parsis as they are found to-day, by no means elaborate in construction, actually correspond to the places of worship (*āyādana*) or the "lawful places" for the fire (*dāitya gātu*) which were in use from the earliest time in this religion. Herodotus draws special attention to the fact that the Persians when they offered sacrifices ascended to an elevated place. Something similar might be quoted from the Awesta Yasht for the Haoma (Yt. 9. 17 ; 10-88 ; 17-37, *Cf.* Yt. 57. 19) and for Yima (Yt. 17-28). The invocation of the divine powers, the use of myrtle leaves (μυρσίνη I. 132) which might correspond to the *urvarā* of the Avesta, the recital of prayers, the singing of a passage (ἐπαοιδή I. 132) which

[1] *Cf.* the ever recurring words *vasna Auramazdāhā* in the Behistun inscription and see also Dar. Pers. e 13-24 N. R. a 57-55. *Cf.* further also the similar prayers of Xerxes, Xerx. Pers. a 18-20, da 17-19, b 27-30, ca 12-14 and of Artaxerxes Ochus Art. Pers. a 32-35.

[2] *Cf.* Tiele, Geschiedenis van der Godsdienst, pp. 362-364, Amsterdam, 1901.

must have been similar to the intoning of the Yasna in ancient and later times—all this gives us a picture of the external form of at least one part of the divine service The use of the *baresma* or barsom twigs was already noted by Strabo who calls them ραβδοι, he mentions similarly the covering over the mouth (Aw *paitidāna* Phl *penom*) which the priest has to wear in presence of the fire [1] In this respect the practice of the dasturs to day is exactly the same as in the time of Zarathushtra Throughout the Awesta the maintenance of the sacred fire which must be fed with clean wood and incense (*baoδa, baoioi haδānaēpata*) is a sacred act and the fire of the home hearth was maintained with similar care (Vd 18 18)

As to ritual, the entire Yasna is a liturgical book, the chapters of which are devoted chiefly to the preparation and celebration of the Haoma sacrifice The consecration of this sacred drink constitutes the centre of divine service With this is associated the blessing of the consecrated water, (*zaoθra*) the offering of milk and butter (*gao jivya gao huδah*) the libation (*myazda*) and the sacred cake (*draonah*) all elements of the ritual.[2] Besides the Idshashna ceremony[3] there was also in ancient and later times the Nirang ceremony or the consecration of the urine of the sacred bull (Aw *gaomaēza* Phl *gomez*) which in all purificatory acts in the Awesta was employed precisely as it is to-day [4] In the matter of bloody sacrifices Herodotus mentions the ceremonial slaughter of an animal which was afterwards cooked and eaten by the priests Vishtāspa and other heroes as also the enemies of the faith, offer thousands of heads of cattle small and great, Zoroaster, however like Ahura Mazda himself offers only the bloodless sacrifices of pious thoughts and of thanksgiving [5] To day no animals are sacrificed in the Zoroastrian ritual although the Parsis in Persia as also in India do not entirely abstain from flesh eating

---

1 XV 15 p 733 επαδουσιν ὥραν σχεδον τι προ πυρος την δεσμην των ραβδων εχοντες τιάρας περικειμεναι πιλωτας κα εικυιας κατερω εν μεχρι του καλυπτειν τα χείλη τὰς παραγια ιδας

2 See Haug, Zendphilologie, p 14, Stuttgart, 1868, further on this subject Darmesteter Le ZA I, Introd 65 66, I 50

3 See the description of some Parsi ceremonies by Haug Essays on the Parsis, pp 393 407

4 Wilhelm, on the use of beef's urine according to the precepts of the Avesta and on similar customs with other nations, Bombay, 1899 Anon, La purification selon l'Avesta et le Gomez Museon, IX, 105 112

5 Yt 5 21, 25, 29 33, 37, 41, 45, 49 57 69 72 81 108 112 116, 9 3, 8, 13 21, 29 compared with Yt 5, 17 76, 104, 9 25 *Cf* also Vol 1870, and see Darmesteter Le ZA II 154 254, III Introd 68f

Religious observances and Customs in regard to Purification.

For the greater part of our knowledge with reference to this head we are dependent on the Vendidad or priestly code of the Awesta and we have to supplement it from other sources. "The best thing for man after birth is purity," says the Vendidad (V. 5. 21 : *yaošdā masyāi aipi zāθəm* &c.) and everywhere we are warned to exercise the utmost carefulness in keeping pure the human body and the natural elements, Earth, Fire and Water. This painful care led to a system of purificatory usages which must often have proved most burdensome. Every vessel or utensil that had become unclean in any way, every article of clothing that had been in the least degree defiled was immediately laid aside and carefully purified by rubbing with earth and water mixed with cow's urine (*gaomaēza*) or by burying it in the earth for a definite time. The mode of treatment and the period of time varied according to the kind of defilement and the nature of the defiled object. Persons who had defiled themselves by accident or carelessness and women during the period of menstruation had to sit apart in the *armešt-gâh* (Aw. *airime gātu*), till they were pronounced clean on the authority of the priests.[1] All these details down to the minutest are set forth in the Vendidad (Vd. 5-16). Penances also (Aw. *paitita*) of various kinds were imposed for sins or ceremonial offences. Most of these acts of discipline were scourging (Aw. *aspahe aštrā sraošō-čaranā*), the killing of noxious animals (*xrafstra*), gifts to priests (Vd. 14-8) and other good deeds, although these were no doubt often commuted by the payment of a penalty in money. The ritual practice of the *barašnum* (Aw. *baršnu* "height" or "peak") was a very elaborate purification which required nine nights and consisted of a ceremonial sprinkling with cow's urine, &c. It is described *in extenso* in the Vendidad (Vd. 8. 35-72 ; 9. 1-57), and is carried out down to the present day by the priests. A number of the Vendidad regulations remind one of the Mosaic law and many parallels between the two codes may be shewn. Both in ancient and in modern times investiture with the sacred shirt and thread was equivalent to a renewal of vows and acceptance into religious fellowship. In that portion of the Awesta which has been preserved no details are found with reference to the ceremonies connected with marriage ; but the passage in the Gāthā Ys. 53. 3f. alludes quite distinctly to the marriage of Pourutshistā, the daughter of Zoroaster to Dshāmāspa.[2] Other

---

[1] *Cf.* Vendidâd 5. 45-56, 59 ; 9. 33-35 ; 16. 1-10.

[2] With reference to the modern marriage ceremonies of the Parsis, see J. J. Modi, Marriage Customs of the Parsis, Bombay, 1900; Karaka, History of the Parsis I, 174-191.

prescriptions with reference to the daily life even down to the cutting of the hair and the nails are found in the priestly law book (Vd. 17, 1 ff.), and these are still further supplemented by the Pahlavi texts Shāyast lā Shāyast, Dātistān i Dīnīk, Artā i Vīrāf, Maīnōg i Khirat, &c. The most striking of all these customs is, however, the Zoroastrian method of disposing of dead bodies, the dead being exposed to be devoured by dogs and birds. This is expressly commanded in the Vendidād, is mentioned by classical writers and has been from the earliest times always an outstanding feature of the religion. The *daxma* themselves are so generally known that we can well be excused from a minute description. As for religious feasts and celebrations the orthodox Zoroastrians have observed from of old certain fast-days and feast-days as, for example, the Gāhānbār, Farvardigān, Naoroz, &c. and the observance of these is at the present day general amongst the Parsis.

Conclusion

For further information regarding the ritual of the ancient Zoroastrians and the Zoroastrians of to-day reference should be made to the following literature:—

Henry Lord, Religion of the Parsees, London, 1630; Hyde, Hist. Relig. vet. Persarum, Oxon. 1700; Spiegel, Awesta, Translated, Leipzig, 1852-63; Eranische Altertumskunde, Leipzig 1871-78; Hovelacque, L'Avesta, Paris, 1880; De Harlez, Avesta Introd. Paris 1881; Darmesteter, Le Zend Avesta, Paris, 1892-93; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, History of the Parsis, London 1884; Sheriarji D. Bharucha, Zoroastrian Religion and Customs, Bombay, 1893; J. J. Modi, The Religious System of the Parsis, in the World's Parliament of Religions II, pp. 898-920, Chicago, 1893.

Relation to other religions. Theories regarding the origin of the Zoroastrian faith and the elements which went to its formation.

The various phases of development so far as these can be traced in the history of the Persian religion have been already indicated (in an earlier part of this dissertation) and an investigation of this history allows certain features to be recognized as of general Aryan, i.e., Indo-Aryan origin, while others bear a distinctively Persian character and others again exhibit indications of a possibly foreign influence. The relationship between Irān and India in respect of the type of their religion, their mythological conceptions and cosmological ideas was recognised almost as soon as the relationship of their languages. The geographical position of Iran bordering Semitic lands on the West and the historical contact between the two nationalities the Semitic and the Iranian, have led scholars to look for a mutual influence of the two religions of these nationalities,

while others lay stress upon the presence of so-called Scythian, Turanian or Sumero-Accadian elements, yet whatever may be said regarding the original foundation, the inherited elements, foreign influence and "Zoroastrian Reform," the fact must never be lost sight of that even up to the present day the Persians have always preserved their individuality. We can here meanwhile touch only the prominent points in which Zoroastrianism was influenced by these religions or has influenced them.

Certain recognisable stages of development.

It has been already suggested in the beginning of my dissertation that there were certain phases in Zoroastrianism which represent the survival of a primitive Animism, especially prominent in the Vendidad, mixed with Spiritism, Fetishism, Superstition and Ancestor Worship. Traces of a still more ancient worship of the powers of nature and a personification of natural phenomena are to be found in the Yasht, and the student in the field of Comparative Religion will have no difficulty in recognising certain elements which have their origin in the Indo-Germanic period which the religions in question shared in common. It is, for example, generally admitted that in the figure of Ormazd certain features may be recognised that are found in the idea of the Supreme Deity that is common to the Aryan peoples. As far as India and Irān are concerned, the problem is not a difficult one. No one entertains any doubt as to this in the case of Haoma, Mithra, Apam Napāt, Hvare, Ahura, Daēva (whatever may be the reason for the different significations of these in the two religions), Vayu, Vāta, Asman, Hapto-iringa and Verethraghna ; there is also no uncertainty in regard to many other points. But there are many questions in the answer to which scholars diverge far from one another. Very specially is this the case in regard to the points of contact between the Iranian religion and the faith of the ancient Hebrews and Babylonians.

Certain parallels between Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity.

Any one who possesses only a superficial knowledge of the Iranian religion must be struck by the parallels which can be instituted between it on the one hand and Judaism and Christianity on the other. The conceptions of God, Angels and Archangels, of the Devil, Demons and Archdemons which are to be found in both have so great a similarity that comparisons between the Angelology and Demonology of the two types of religion force themselves naturally upon us. In consequence of definite resemblances in their cosmological systems one might be tempted to seek for both one common source in Babylon. Certain purificatory rites in the Vendidad and the Pentatench respectively are so like each

other that this portion of the Avesta is often called the Priests Code The entire doctrine of a new Kingdom and of the coming of a Saviour the belief in the Resurrection a universal Judgment and a Future Life shew a most striking resemblance to Jewish Christian doctrines In their attempts to explain these agreements scholars diverge widely Some hold that the Persians have borrowed from the Semites and appeal to the disposition of the Persians already noted by Herodotus (I 135) to adopt foreign customs They also emphasize the Semitic influence to which Zoroaster was probably exposed They go the length of asserting that all the good in Zoroastrianism has sprung from Semitic sources On the other hand some scholars are entirely of the opposite opinion Judaism they hold was the borrower and they maintain that the influence of Parsiism on Judaism has not yet been sufficiently recognised and appreciated Some investigations strike a middle path between these extremes The names of Biblical scholars and students of Avesta who have occupied themselves with this difficult question are sufficiently familiar to every Iranist and instead of discussing the different theories we limit ourselves to a reference to the relative literature [1]

Theories as to the origin of the religion Attempts to explain its constituents.

The presence of different strata in the religion and the possibility of foreign elements having crept into it follows clearly from what has been said above Such a view follows from the scientific treatment which regards religion as an organism subject to change and development The genuine orthodox Iranian view however regards the faith as a unity a revelation vouchsafed by Ahura to Zarathushtra which includes everything that is signified by the designation ' the good religion In this the Avesta the Pahlavi Texts and the later Zoroastrian literature agree and the

1 Kohut Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Damonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit von Parsismus Leipzig, 1866 De Harlez Av Introd ccv—ccix

Aiken The Avesta and the Bible Catholic University Bulletin III 243 291, Washington, 1897 Stave Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum Haarlem, 1898 Söderblom La vie future d'après le Mazdeisme Paris 1901 Böklen Verwandtschaft der jüdisch christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie Göttingen 1902 Moulton, Expository Times IX 351 359 XI 257 260 and Journ Theol Studies pp 514 517, July 1902 In addition Halevy Influence de Pentateuque sur l'Avesta Rev Sem IV, 164 174 De Harlez La Bible et l'Avesta Rev Bible V, 161 172, Kohut Was hat die talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen, *ZDMG* XXI 552 591

orthodox Parsis adhere to this view.[1] This was also the view of Anquetil du Perron which he received from his Parsi teachers.

But Scholars have endeavoured to explain the various stages in the development of the faith in various ways, and the method of the higher criticism applied to the Awesta has brought forth various theories with respect to the origin of the faith and the causes to which its dualistic and monotheistic features owe their origin. Here only the leading opinions can be indicated: the discussion of them I reserve for my book on The Religion of Persia[2]. The following, however, may be briefly mentioned. (1) Haug's theory of an Indo-Iranian religious schism in order to explain the difference in signification of the Sanskrit and Awesta *deva-daeva, asura-ahura*[3]; (2) Spiegel attempted to distinguish between Aryan, Iranian and Semitic elements in the religion[4]; (3) Justi was at pains to point out several features which owed their origin to more ancient systems or to Median Magism[5]; (4) Darmesteter emphasised features that were originally mythological and regarded the Awesta as for the most part an echo of ancient Aryan myths and Zoroaster as a mythical personage[6]; (5) De Harlez explained all the resemblances between the Awesta and the Bible by the circumstance that Zoroaster sprang from the West and had probably been under Jewish influences[7]; (6) Geldner turned his attention to the dualism, regarded Zoroastrianism as something that grew up on Iranian soil and explained the different elements as the result of this natural growth[8]; (7) Moulton again laid

---

1 For example *parasat zaraθuštrō . . . âat mraot ahurōmazdâ* &c., *Cf.* also *hurat Kaesa mazdo-fraoxta*, &c., and the idea of revelation in Ys. 31, 8, 43. 5-1, 45. 8; and in the apocalyptic book Arta-i Virâf. See further Denkart 7, 3, 6-61, 7. 4; Zsp. 21, 14-21, Palet Irânī 2, in Darmesteter, Le ZA. III, 168, and in *SBE,* IV. Introd. XXXVIII (Parsi Patet); also my book, "Zoroaster the prophet," p. 41 ff.

2 Will appear in Jastrow's Collection Handbooks on the History of Religions.

3 Haug Die fünf Gâthâs II, 238-245, Leipzig, 1860; Essays, pp. 267-293.

4 Spiegel EA. II, 167-174; La reforme de Zarathushtra, Musèon V, 614-623; Die alten Religionen in Eran, *ZDMG*, LII, 187-196.

5 Justi, Geschichte des alten Persiens, pp. 67-95, Berlin, 1897. *Cf.* also his Monograph, Die älteste iranische Religion and ihr Stifter Zarathushtra. Preuss. Jahrb, LXXVIII, pp. 55-86, 231-262, Berlin, 1897.

6 Darmesteter, Or azd et Ahriman, Paris, 1877, *SBE,* IV. Introd. LVI—LXXXVIII, Oxford, 1880.

7 De Harlez, Des Origines du Zoroastrisme, Paris, 1879 (Extr. du Journ. Asiatique; 1878-79; id., Ab. traduit, Introd. CLXXXIV—CCX, Paris, 1881).

8 Geldner, in Encyclopædia Britannica, ed. 9 under Zoroaster (also later oral statement).

stress on three strata, Zoroastrianism, Iranian Mazdaism and Magism [1], (8) Darmesteter shortly before his death set up a radical hypothesis in asserting that the Awesta was of late origin, that the Gāthās belonged to the first century of our era and that the entire Awesta had developed under Jewish influence, especially that of Philo Judaeus He went still further and attempted to demonstrate the existence in addition to this of Greek Buddhist and Hindu influences [2] We have already in an earlier part of this dissertation drawn attention to the flood of discussions that has poured in through this hypothesis In addition to the above many suggestions and ideas can be got from the works of Tiele, Duncker, Von Bradke Lehmann and other Scholars already mentioned in the bibliographical lists given above

Conclusion

On the whole we are justified in regarding the Iranian religion as an historical development although in its beginning it was the work of a personal founder But as all great religious teachers and the doctrines proclaimed by them carry the colouring of their time and surrounding circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that in the Zoroastrian religion, as we know it historically, various stages and strata reveal themselves

Summary and Conclusion

From all that has been said in the foregoing, a general idea of the Iranian religion and its history, so far as this was possible within the limits prescribed to us, may be gathered That it is worthy of earnest study no one, I presume, will be prepared to deny. So far as the Iranian religion regarded as a whole is concerned, we have seen that its history for the most part represents the history of religion in the great Median Persian, Parthian and Sasanid empires In ancient Iran Church and State were practically one, and the fortunes of religion were bound up with great national events The origin of this religion, however, and the causes which called it into life are veiled in darkness In addition many problems of a similar kind, even some which are concerned with important points in this, faith remain unsolved Thus, for example, the pre Zoroastrian faith of Iran may or may not have been in great part the faith of the Magians, according to the general view Zarathushtra himself was, however, a Magian But notwithstanding this we do not know with

1 I H Moulton in The Thinker I, 401 402, II, 304 315, 490, 506, London, 1892 93 (Also further details on the subject of Magism communicated in letters)

2 Darmesteter, le ZA III Introd Paris, 1893, *SBE*, IV, ed 2, pp XLVII–LXIX, Oxford, 1895

certainty whether his own teaching was partly a reaction or reform movement against certain Magian doctrines (as it probably was) or whether he did not simply transplant a purer form of faith into another region in which it straightway took root, blossomed under powerful protection, spread itself far and wide and finally became the religion of the whole of Iran. So far, however, as our knowledge goes, the real beginning of Zoroastrianism dates from the conversion of King Vishtāspa. Through this event this religion became a really active factor in the life of Iran. In a preceding chapter the life and leading doctrines of Zoroaster have been described. The dualistic and monotheistic tendencies of the Zoroastrian faith are discussed in another place. The conflicting elements in the Kingdoms of Ormazd and Ahriman and the cosmological and eschatological ideas of the Iranian religion have been briefly sketched. Especial attention has been devoted to the ethical doctrines of Zoroaster and their practical influence on the character of the Parsi communities in India and Persia. The history of the religion of the Achæmenid sovereigns, as we know it from the royal decrees and inscriptions and from other writings referring to Old-Persian religious ideas and usages and some of the special features appearing in the Iranian religion during the Parthian and Sasanid periods, could only just be mentioned. At any rate it has been clearly shown how deeply penetrating was the influence of the conquest of Iran by the Arabs and Islam. Some remarks were then also added with reference to foreign influence on the ancient Zoroastrian faith, and it was shewn how it has still maintained itself in scattered communities in India and Persia. The general question, however, as to the relations of Zoroastrianism with other religions of antiquity and the possibility of their mutual influence could only be treated in the way of mere suggestion.

I am fully conscious of the many defects and inequalities which this monograph taken as a whole reveals. In some chapters I have confined myself within narrower limits than I should have done, in others I have been perhaps more diffuse than was necessary. This, however, has not been due to any conscious intention. I have always kept in view the extent of the material that is already accessible. Thus, for example, the chapter on Ormuzd and the Amshaspands (in a previous section of the discussion which is not included in this paper) may be found brief in comparison with the more exhaustive treatment of the Demonology. This was the result of a deliberate purpose because the latter subject has hitherto not been discussed in any other place with the same fullness. In such a case a method of this kind seemed

accordingly to be in harmony with the plan of this Grundriss Besides, I hope in my work to be published shortly—"The Religion of Persia"—to be able to discuss a number of subjects more exhaustively It is my desire that this work and this article in the Grundriss now before you should more or less supplement each other I can only indulge the hope that this contribution may be received in the spirit in which it is offered namely as an attempt to gather together what is most important in the knowledge we possess regarding the ancient religion of Persia and the teaching of Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran

List of the principal abbreviations occurring in this paper

Aw = Awesta
Bd = Bundahishn
Byt = Bahman Yasht
EA = Erānische Alterthumskunde von F Spiegel
Et Ir = Etudes Iraniennes by Darmesteter
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Roy Asiatic Society
PHL Phl = Pahlavi
SBE = Sacred Books of the East
Vd = Vendidād
Ys = Yasna
Yt = Yasht
ZA = Zendavesta by Darmesteter
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellaschaft
Zsp = Selections of Zat sparam (West *SBE*, V S 153 ff)

THE ZARVANITE SYSTEM,

By Irvin Frederick Buhr, M.A.

Introduction

The importance of Zarvanism would seem to fall under two heads, historical and philosophical. In the history of religion and especially of Zoroastrianism, it is interesting to trace the sect of the Zarvanites and to notice their influence on the thought of the time and also to note the possible influence from other systems of religion. The philosophy of Zarvanism is even more interesting than the history, as it seems to be a search for a true monotheism, for the One Cause. Man is prone to reduce religion to the simplest possible solution, and this system evolves according to historians a very curious solution to the problem.

The references have been very scattered, and it is the hope that the collection of these into one form may be of benefit to those who desire to study the subject further. Many extracts have been quoted entire, but this seemed advisable that the whole setting might be better understood.

I am happy to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. L. H. Gray of the University of Nebraska, U. S. A., who has not merely given me the benefit of his knowledge of Zoroastrian theology in general, but has brought to my attention many non-Iranian references to my theme. He has kindly edited the whole study for me and given the note on the derivation of the word "Zarvan."

The Zarvanite System

Beauty Verses

بیابان و آن مرد با تیز داس . تر و خشک را زو دل اندر هراس

تر و خشک یکسان همی بدرود : وگر لابه سازی سخن نشنود

دروگر زمان است و ما چون گیا . همانش نبیره همانش نیا

بپیر و جوان یک بیک ننگرد : شکاری که پیش آیدش بشکرد

جهانرا چنینست ساز و نهاد .. که جز مرگ را کس ز مادر نزاد

ازین در در آید ازان بگذرد : زمانه برو دم همی بشمرد

Like the meadow-land and the man whose sharp sickle
Is a terror to both green and dry;
He cuts alike both green and dry.
And if thou criest he hears not thy plea.

Time is the Reaper and we are like the dry grass.
The grandson and the grandfather are alike to him;
One by one, he does not discriminate with old or young,
But he hunts all the prey that comes near him.

The preparations and the course of the world are thus,—
That except for death no mother gives birth.
We come in by this door and go out by that,
While *Time* counts every breath.

Firdausi.

Among the sects into which Zoroastrianism was divided were the Zarvanites, who ascribed the source of all things, both good and evil, to a single source, Zarvan, or "Time," whom they made the father of Ormazd and of Ahriman.[1] As we shall see, the sect existed long before the Christian era and traces of it were still to be found in the seventeenth century after Christ.

Whether a belief of this type was current in the circles in which Zoroaster moved is not wholly clear. One passage of the Gathas (*Yasna*, XXX, 3-6) is perhaps capable of an exegesis which may suggest a germ of Zarvanism; but it is beyond all doubt that the whole tenor of the Prophet's teaching is directly counter to any belief in a single creator of Ahura Mazda and of Angra Mainyu. Yet it must be borne in mind that Zoroaster was not primarily a technical theologian or a philosopher but a practical and highly spiritual reformer. He made the matter very plain, ascribing the origin of good works to Ormazd, explaining the evil in the world as due to Ahriman, the enemy of Ormazd and of all mankind. His was a work of reformation, and he did not think it necessary to take into account anything further back as to the origin of things, since all that was requisite in his mind was to account for good and evil, and to formulate plans and regulations that would make men better. His triad of "Humata, Huxta, and Hvarshta" ("Good Thoughts, Good Words, and Good Deeds") embraced the whole of man's duty in this

[1] *Cf.* the account of the Zoroastrian sects given by ash-Shahrastani (1086-1153) tr. Haarbrücker, i, 275—285 (for the Zarvanites especially pp. 275—280 and see E. Edwards, "Sects (Zoroastrian)," in *ERE*, xi, 345-347. According to the somewhat uncertain evidence of the seventeenth century *Dábistán* (tr. D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, i, 354). "The professors of the Abadián faith say that Ahriman was produced by Time: they also say that the angels and the heavens have existed, exist, and will continue to exist."

world[1], and perhaps there were some things which he did not deem necessary for men to know in order to attain salvation and to pass the Chinvat Bridge in safety Concerned with the great practical problem of so ordering the lives of men that they would be able to combat the evil brought into the world through the arch demon, Ahriman he did not feel himself obliged to enter into difficult theological and philosophical problems He found gross polytheism in his time, and against this he directed his attacks

It is suggested, however that at least some traces of the later heresies may be found in the teaching of the founder of Zoroastrianism Zoroaster himself had no thought of any such thing and doubtless he would have vehemently resisted any attempt to change the simple doctrine of Ormazd as the head of all things yet his words were capable of more than one interpretation and he had not defined the matter so as to be incapable of a two fold exegesis in later times Thus the Phalavi *Dina i Mainog i Khirat* (VIII, 1-16) states that all created things came into being by the agency of one by the blessing of Time Nevertheless, the teaching of Zoroaster was that the two principles of Good and Evil came into the world together as "twins"

> "Now the two primal spirits, who revealed themselves in vision as Twins, are the Better and the Bad in thought and word and action And between these two the wise once chose aright, and the foolish not so And when these twain Spirits came together in the beginning they established Life and Not life, and that at the last the Worst Existence shall be to the followers of the Lie, but the Best Thought to him that follows Right Of these twain Spirits he that followed the Lie chose doing the worst things, the holiest Spirit chose Right, he that clothes him with the massy heavens as a garment So likewise they that are fain to please Ahura Mazda by dutiful actions Between these twain the demons also chose not aright, for infatuation came upon them as they took counsel together, so that they chose the Worst Thought Then they rushed together to Violence that they might enfeeble the world of man[2]"

Again we read[3] "I will speak of the Spirits twain at the first beginning of the world of whom the holier thus spake to the enemy 'Neither thought nor teachings nor wills nor beliefs nor words nor deeds nor selves nor souls of us twain agree'" It is suggested that here is the origin of the discussion in the theology of Zoroastrianism that may have led to the Zarvanistic explanation of the origin of the "twins"[4] It

---

1 Dhalla *Zoroastrian Theology*, p 32
2 *Yasna* XXX, 3 6
3 *Yasna* XIV 2
4 Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi*, pp 26, 27

may have been argued that if there were twin personalities, they must have had a parent; and thus was posited the impersonal Zarvan, of whom nothing could be predicated.

This type of speculation finds an excellent illustration and summary in the shorter Ulamā-i-Islām [1]: "To Time there appeared no limit; no top appeared and no bottom appeared; it has existed and will always exist. He that hath understanding will not say, 'Where did time come from' or 'How did it come into existence with all this greatness?' There was no one who could call it the Creator because it had not made the creation. Afterward it created the fire and the water. When it (he) had caused them to come together then Ormazd came into existence. Time was both the Creator and Lord with respect to the creation which it had made."

As regards Zoroaster's own position the Dīnkart [2] is very explicit that he did not believe in the doctrine of "Boundless Time." "And, from the statement of Zaratusht, about the shouting of the demon Aresh to mankind, thus: Aūharmazd and Aharman have been two brothers in one womb, and out of them the archangel liked that which is evil." This same work says [3] that the first creation of Ahura Mazda was Time, which "returns to its original source by means of revolution," and before the end of limited time (that is, at the resurrection) all creatures will be purified. "Regarding Time the dasturs said thus: Time was unlimited at the beginning; but it was afterwards made limited. At the end of the limited time, it will again become without bounds (and roll on to eternity). . . . . . The Deity is infinite in time by reason of his miraculous wisdom. The existence of the Omniscient Lord is eternal in time by reason of his eternal powers." Moreover, according to a passage in the *Great Bundahish*[4], Boundless Time was one of those created to aid and co-operate with Vohūman.

What was the meaning of the word Zarvan ("Time"), and what was the doctrine according both to non-Iranian and to Iranian sources? Concerning the word itself, Dr. Gray contributes to our study the following observations :—

The word *zrvan* is doubtless connected with Avesta *zaurvan*, "old age, infirmities of old age," *zaurura, zarəta*, "weak with age"; and among its Iranian cognates are New Persian *zāl*, Yidghah *zōr*, Afghan *zor*

1 The Rivâyet of Dastûr Barzû. From Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivāyet by Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unvâlâ, Vol. II, pp. 62-66, British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay, 1922.

2 IX, xxx, 4 (*SBE* xxxvii, 242; tr. Sanjana, xvii, 66, Bombay, 1922).

3 III, cclxvii, 2-6 (tr. Sanjana, vi, 415, 416, Bombay, 1891).

4 Tr. E. Blochet, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xxxii (1895), 104.

(**zarta, cf* Avesta *zarəta*) "old man" New Persian *zarmān* "old man," Ormurī *zarka* "woman," Ossetic *zärond*, "old"[1] Here belong further, New Persian *zar*, Armenian *cer*, "old man" (**gero-*) and the entire group is cognate with Sanskrit *jar*, "to make old," *jāras*, "old age," "infirmities of old age," Greek γέρων, "old man" Old Church Slavic *zrěti*, "to ripen"[2]

The basal form of the Avesta word is ** gerəvan* which in the double vanishing grade becomes **gr̥van*, for which one would expect **zaratan* to be written; and the first full grade appears in Avesta *zarvan* "old age, infirmities of old age," (written *zaurvan*) and with *man* and *nt* formations respectively, in New Persian *zarmān* "old man" (*cf* Sanskrit *jarimanam* accusative singular "old age infirmities of old age") and Ossetic *zärond* "old" (Sanskrit *jarant*)

The combination *zrvan* is to be read *zruvan* as is shown by the metre[3], as *a rapiθwinəm zr(u)vānəm* (*Yasna* IX II)[4] *darəγəmčit aipi zr(u)vanəm* (*Yasna* LXII 3[5], *Yasht* XIII 53) *frāθwarštəm pait zr(u)vānəm* (*Yasht* XIII, 56, similarly *Yasht* XIX 26)

The word is glossed in the *Frahang i Oim* (ed H Reichelt Vienna 1900, p 28 1.9; ed Hoshengji Jamaspji and M Haug Bombay 1867 p 30 1 5) by zaman, "time"

In the Avesta *zrvan* is used in the following senses merely "time", *a rapiθwinəm zrvānəm*, "at noontime," (*Yasna* IX II *Yasht* VIII 25), *darəγamčit aipi zrvānəm*, "for a long time," (*Yasna* LXII, 3) *yəde kərətəm dwaretai zrune*, "at a prescribed time," (*Yasht* V 129, similarly *Yasht* VIII, 11, X, 74, XIII, 56, XIX, 26, Vendidad II 19 [Pahlavi version] VI, 1, VII, 3, 45, *Nirangistān* 12, *Pursishnīhā* 37, *Frahang i Oim* ed Reichelt, p. 16, 1.9, ed Jamaspji and Haug p 13, 1.11), secondly, of "Time" as a cosmic principle "boundless Time, long Time whose law is its own" (*zrvānahe akaranahe zrvānahe darəγō xᵛaδātahe*, *Yasna* LXXII, 10), which receives worship together with other holy beings (*Nyāish* 1, 8, *Sīh Rōzak* I, 21, II, 21), which Zarathushtra is bidden by Ahura Mazda to invoke (*Vendīdād* XIX, 13), and which formed the

1 P Horn, "Neupersische Schriftsprache," in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Strasbourg, 1901, I ii, p 52, G A Grierson "The Ormuri or Bargistā Language," in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii (1918), 8, 19, 82, 83

2 P Persson, *Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung*, Upsala, 1912, pp 671, 672, 756, 963, *cf* A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed, Heidelberg, 1910, pp 351, 352

3 K. Geldner *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, *Tübingen*, 1877, p 23

4 Geldner's edition *zrvānəm*, Ms K4 reads *zarvānəm*

5 Mss K5 and Pt4 read *zurvānəm*

path which both righteous and wicked must tread to the Chinvat Bridge (*Vendīdād* XIX, 29); and, thirdly, on the border between the two—'Spenta Mainvu created [Vāč] in boundless time" (*Vendīdād* XIX, 9).

Abraham is called زروان in the *Farhang-i-Jihāngīrī*[1] and also زرهون و زرهان و زربان و زرفان and in the Haft *Qulzum*[2]. Zarvan (probably an abbreviation of Zarvāndāt, "given by Zarvan"), and Zarvāndādh are used as Persian proper names[3]. The word is borrowed in Armenian under the form Zrvan, which represents an Avesta **zurvān or *zruvan*[4], and here we find the proper names Zrovandat and Zrvanduxt[5].

The non-Iranian references to Zarvanism are given by Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic writers; and their accounts may best be given in chronological order. There is considerable discrepancy in details, but in them all the principle of "Boundless Time" is said to have been the first cause of the creation. The earliest mention of Zarvan seems to have been made by Eudemos of Rhodes (fl. c 300 B.C.) whose writings have disappeared, but who is thus quoted, in the fifth century A.D., by Damascius (*Dubitationes et Solutiones*, ed. Ruelle, p. 125): "The Magi . . . . and all the Aryan race, as Eudemos also writes, some call it the intelligible and unified Space (τόπος), and others Time (χρονος), from which were differentiated either a good god and an evil demon, or, as some say, light and darkness before these. Accordingly, after the differentiation of undifferentiated nature, they themselves make a two-fold co-ordination of the better things, Oromasdes ruling over the one, and Areimanios over the other."

St. Basil the Great (c. 330-379 A.D.), who was Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, writes (*Epistulae* 258 *ad Epiphanium*, 4): "They [the Magi or Magousaioi][6] ascribe to themselves a certain Zarnouas as the beginning of the race."

The next important testimony is that of Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 360-428 A.D.), although there is some difference of opinion regarding the source of his information. According to Lagarde[7], he drew upon

[1] T. Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, Oxford, 1700, pp. 79, 80, 495. On this *Farhang* see P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, Göttingen, 1884, pp. 44-49.

[2] Lagarde, p. 63, and the same author's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 1 49.

[3] F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, pp. 383-384.

[4] H. Hüsbchmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895, i, 42.

[5] Justi, pp. 384, 387.

[6] A Syriac form, *cf.* Syriac *Māghōšāyā*, "magical." It is to be noted that St. Basil spent most of his life in Cappadocia, a centre of Iranism in Asia Minor. See, further, G. Krüger, in *Realencyklopädie fur protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., ii, 436, 439. Leipzig, 1896.

[7] *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 149.

Armenian sources, whereas Cumont [1], with much greater probability reverses the indebtedness, contending that Theodore received his information from Persians scattered in Asia Minor and the West Theodore *passed the last forty years of his life in Cilicia first at Tarsus and then at* Mopsuestia Adherents of the Mithraic belief lived in this region at an early date, and perhaps it was from them that he obtained his data He was the author of a work, in three books, on "Magic in Persis" which is lost, but from which Photios (*Bibliotheca*, 81) quotes as follows "In the first book he adds the foul dogma of the Persians which Zarades [Zoroaster] introduced, or concerning Zourouam whom he brings in as the beginning of all things and whom he also calls 'Fortune' [τύχη] and how, offering a libation to bring forth Ormisdas, he brought forth him and Satan [Ahriman]" [2]

The Syriac data, so far as is known are drawn exclusively from the Acts of the Saints and Martyrs, the most important documents in this connection being the Acts of Adhurhormizd and Anāhēdh [3], of which portions here relevant have been translated by Nöldeke [4]. At their martyrdom, which took place in 447 the Mobed of Mobeds [5], asking how one could renounce the high and lofty religion of Zoroaster for that of the Nazarene whom every one despised declares that he who is exalted here in this world by Ormazd will have an important place in Behisht, adding that even the king is seated on his throne by the will of Ahura Mazda To this Adhurhormizd replies as follows· "What useful doctrine have you ? Shall we consider Ashōqar (?) Frashōqar (?) Zarōqar (?) and Zūrvān [6] as gods ? Or Hormizd, who was attained through prayer and vows and whose father succeeded in his vow and offering only after he had brought forth Satan without desiring him and without being at all in agreement with him and without knowing who had formed them [7] within him or by whom they were created ? So it is evident that Ashōqar, Frashōqar and Zarōqar are empty names and senseless stones , and it is also evident that Zurvān himself is far from any quality as God, since he did not

1 *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, i, 18, 19

2 On this passage see also C Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, pp 131 133

3 Edited by P Bedjan *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, 7 vols , Paris, 1890, 1897, ii, 565 603

4 "Syrische Polemik gegen die persische Religion," in *Festgruss an Roth*, pp 34 38

5 On this supreme religious office see A Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides* Copenhagen 1907, p 35

6 *ZRVN* The other three names occur only here, so far as known, and their meaning is uncertain

7 *i e* , Ahriman and Ormazd

know what was formed in his body. Thus, according to your own words, it would seem as though there was, perhaps, yet another god to whom, according to your words, Zurvān sacrificed, and who formed the sons without his will........Which of these, then, shall we honour, or whom shall we seek to please, that he may help us," ironically asking whether he should not prefer Ahriman, who was plainly more powerful than Hormazd, since the latter had been compelled to learn from the former how to create all things.

Anāhēdh, in her reply to Ādhurfrāzgred, the Chief Mobed, said: "What sayest thou, O Mobed of Mobeds? That the fire and the stars, which thou bringest before me, were children of Hormizd, conceived and born of himself, or of something else? We see that all things which beget and bear, cause birth by the union of two, male and female, and not simply by one of them. If then Hormizd conceived and bore them in himself, that is, simply in his body, then, like his father Zurvān, he is androgynous, as the Manichaeans say. And if he begot them by his mother, daughter, or sister, as your most stupid and foolish doctrine says, why should he not have begotten us in exactly the same way? A god, however, has neither mother nor daughter nor sister, because he is one, and he is alone God who rules freely over all his treasures......That, however, Hormizd, like ourselves, is subject to a beginning, end, and passing away, is shown by his father Zurvan and his mother Khvashizāg.[1] If they lost their life, then their children and children's children also lost it."

To these Syriac accounts we may add a mere allusion to Zarvanism found in the Acts of Pūsai (martyred in 340) to the effect that "the Magians say that Hōrmīzd is the brother of Satan [2]."

Turning now to the Armenian writers, Moses of Chorene, writing, probably, in the fifth century[3], makes Zrvan a prince, adding that the Zoroastrians deemed him the creator of all things. Moses gives as his source a Syriac writer, Mar Abas of Nisibis, a confidant of the Armenian King Vagharshak, who sent him to his brother, the Parthian king (Arsakes)[4] Mithradates I (174—136 B.C.). In Nineveh Mar Abas found a work which had been translated, at the command of Alexander the Great, from "Chaldee" into Greek, and

[1] The form of this name is very doubtful (*cf.* Nöldeke, p. 37, note 11), and no mention of the wife of Zarvan is known to occur elsewhere. It may mean "child of joy."

[2] O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Kemten, 1915, p. 67.

[3] *Cf.* C. Neumann, *Versuch einer Geschichte der armenischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1836, pp. 45-57.

[4] Probably an error for Artavazdes I (159 [?]-149 B.C.).

this he gave to his patron both in Greek and in Syriac The account is without historic foundation, but Moses doubtless drew from a Syriac source[1]. According to Moses (i, 6),

"It is agreeable for me to commence my recital with my dear Berossian Sibyl[2], more truthful than many historians: 'Before the Tower' she says, 'and the multiplying of languages, after the sailing of Xisouthros to Armenia, Zrvan, Titan, and Japhetos were princes of the earth' These personages seem to me to be Shem, Ham, and Japheth 'Scarcely,' she says, 'had they appointed the empire of the world, when Zrvan elevated himself as a master, over the others' Zrvan, whom Zradesht king of the Bactrians, that is, of the Medes, says was prince and father of the gods

'Zradesht has poured forth many other fables relating to Zrvan, and which would be out of place here 'Titan and Japheth' she says, 'were opposed to the tyranny of Zrvan and declared war on him' This Zrvan intended to make his children reign over all (the rest), but Astghik[3], their sister, interposing between them made their quarrel to cease They agreed to allow Zrvan to reign, but by a sworn oath, to slay all the male children who should be born of Zrvan that he might not reign over them for ever through his posterity This is why they charged several mighty Titans to watch the deliveries of Zrvan's wives Two males had already been sacrificed to keep the sworn oath when Astghik, sister of Zrvan, Titan, and Japhetos, in agreement with Zrvan's wives, planned to persuade and induce several Titans to let the other males live and to take them to the east to a mountain..... now, Olympus"[4]

It is clear that Moses believed that Zrvan (i e, the Greek Kronos confused with Chronos) was at one time an historical personage, and that he was a prince

1 P Vetter, "Das Buch des Mar Abas von Nisibis," in *Festgruss an Roth*, pp 81 88, J de Morgan *Histoire du peuple armenien*, Paris, 1919, pp 45, 47, 305

2 This is directly drawn from *Oracula Sibyllina*, iii, 105

καὶ βασίλευσε κρόνος καὶ τιτὰν Ἰαπετός τε

3 "Star," identified with the Greek Aphrodite, and originally the Syrian goddess Belti (H Gelzer, 'Zur armenischen Götterlehre," in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil hist Classe, 1896, pp 122, 123) The confusion of Zrvan with Kronos is obvious (for other instances in Armenian literature cf H Hübschmann, *Armenische* Grammatik, i, 506)

4 Tr Langlois *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, ii 59

According to the pseudo-Agathangelos (also of the fifth century)[1] Zrvan and his sons built an abode at the foot of Ararat, and the Greek text mentions an "altar of Kronos [again confused with Chronos], father of the all-daemon Zeus," though the Armenian version here has merely "the statues of the god Aramazd, whom they called the father of the gods"[2]. The tenth-century historian, Thomas Artsruni[3], says that "Titan, having triumphed over Zrvan, seized Babylon and made it his residence; Zrvan was the fifth descendant of Xisouthros," and he also repeats the story in typical fashion[4], as does the decree which Mihrnarses[5], the minister of Yazdigird II (430—457), addressed to the Armenians and which is given (perhaps with some literary embellishment) by the Armenian historian (Eghishe Elisaeus), writing in the fifth century[6].

The most complete account of Zarvanism by any Armenian author is given by the theologian Eznik, who wrote his work *Against the Sects* in the fifth century[7]. His account of the beginning of things according to the Magians is as follows :—

"They say that before there was anything at all, either earth or heaven or any creatures which are in heaven or earth, there was one named Zrovan, which they translate 'Fortune' or 'Glory.' For a thousand years he made offerings that a son might be born to him whose name might be Ormizd, who should make heaven and earth and all that is in them. And after sacrificing for a thousand years, he commenced to ponder thus, 'Will this sacrifice which I am performing really be a benefit to me, and shall this son Ormizd be born to me, or have I troubled myself in vain ?' And while he was meditating upon this, Ormizd and Arhmn were conceived in the womb of their mother (father), Ormizd because of the sacrifice performed, and Arhmn because of the doubt.

"When Zrovan perceived that, he said, 'There are two sons in the womb; the one that comes (of them) to me first I will make king.' And after Ormizd had perceived the thoughts of his father, he made them known to Arhmn. He said, 'Zrovan, our father, thought that whoever of us comes to him first he would make him

---

1 Tr. Langlois, i, 196.
2 *Ibid.*, i, 167.
3 *Ibid.*, i, 394.
4 Tr. M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, Petrograd, 1874-76, i, 19-22.
5 *Cf.* Justi, p. 205, and T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus....Tabari*, Leyden, 1879, pp. 76-78, 106, 108-110, 113, 114.
6 Tr. Langlois, ii, 190.
7 Tr. J. M. Schmid, *Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb Wider die Sekten*, pp. 89-146.

king' When Arhmn heard that, he broke through the womb and emerged and came before his father When Zrovan saw him, he knew not who he was and asked 'Who art thou ?' And he answered 'I am thy son' Zrovan said to him, 'My son is sweet-smelling and shining but thou art black and evil smelling' And while they talked with each other, Ormizd came forth in his time shining and sweet smelling, and he came and stood before Zrovan And when Zrovan saw him, he knew that it was his son Ormizd for whom he had sacrificed, and he took the twigs of Barsom which he had in his hand, and with which he performed the sacrifice, and gave them to Ormizd and said 'Till now I have performed sacrifices for thee, henceforth thou shalt perform sacrifices for me' And while Zrovan gave the twigs of Barsom to Ormizd and blessed him, Arhmn stepped before Zrovan and said "Hast thou not vowed thus, 'Whichever of my two sons shall appear before me first I will make king ?' Not to break his vow Zrovan said to Arhmn 'O thou liar and knave! The kingdom is given to thee for nine thousand years and Ormizd is set to be ruler over thee, and after nine thousand years Ormizd shall be king and shall do what he will' Now Ormizd and Arhmn began to make creatures and all that Ormizd made was good and right but what Arhmn made was wicked and vile"[1]

The remainder of Book II is devoted to refuting the doctrine which Eznik says is that of the Persians and which he does not assail as being merely one of the sects He attacks the points separately about the attributes of Zrovan declaring that if he were perfect, there was no reason for him to sacrifice to obtain a son, and that if the story were true, Zrovan must have looked to some higher power to answer his prayer and his offering If he were all powerful why was it necessary for him to have a son who could create the world? Why could he not have done that and saved himself the trouble of the thousand years' sacrifice? He traces Zrovan to the origin already made familiar by Moses of Chorene, and the bitterness of his polemic is very possibly due to the fact that the Persians were endeavouring to introduce into Armenia their religion which after receiving the support of the kings of Persia under the Sassanides was restored to its purity and became a menace to Armenia[2]

The polemic of Eznik may of course be taken as assailing the worst side of the Persian religion, and as Wigram observes in speaking of this very conflict that raged between the religion of Persia and

---

1 Tr Schmid pp 89 93

2 Schmid p. 89, note

the struggling church of early Persian Christianity. " A little oriental experience gives a great distrust in the account of a man's religion that his enemy gives. The opponent may not be consciously caricaturing; but he invariably represents his own deductions from A.'s principles as A.'s actual tenets "[1]. Yet it is evident that, at all events, Zarvanism must have been the form of the Persian religion which came to Armenia; and if such was the case, it must have been very influential in that part of the world. There may have been some influence directly from Mithraism, which had been filtering into the north and which was regarded by the Christian community as coming from their old enemies and persecutors in Persia; but the record is important in that it shows what the Armenians regarded as the teachings of the Zoroastrians. That Eznik was acquainted with the teaching held by the Persians is evident from his refutation, in which he enters into many of the teachings of the Mobeds and which shows that he had more than a casual acquaintance with the religion which he undertook to refute[2]. On the other hand, his acquaintance with the Bible is that of a learned theologian, and he draws from the Old and the New Testaments to prove the error of the Persian religion.

A modern Armenian proverb says that everything depends on time, but time depends on nothing; and the Armenian Žuk (" Time ") as a supreme power rules the regular course of day and night, although this is not, like the Iranian Zarvan, regarded as the source of Ormazd and Ahriman. The Armenian Žuk (or Žuk u Žamanak) has the form of a white-haired old man who sits on a high hill, holding in his hand two balls of thread, one white and the other black, representing respectively day and the heaven of day, and night and the heaven of night. While he rolls one ball down the hill, he rolls the other up, thus causing day and night[3].

Even more valuable than Eznik's polemic against Zarvanism is the dispassionate account of it which is given by the Arabic theologian ash-Shahrastânî (1086—1153). His account runs as follows[4] :—

"The Zarvanites assert that Light brought forth a number of persons all of light, and of a spiritual, bright, divine nature; but the greatest person, who was named Zarvān, had doubted

[1] W. A. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church, or The Church of the Sassanid Persian Empire*, 100-640 *A.D.*, London, 1910, p. 182.

[2] *Cf.* L. H. Gray, in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-14, pp. 37-39, on what he holds to be the very real value of Greek, Syriac and Armenian Christian writers concerning Zoroastrianism.

[3] M. Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 52-53.

[4] Tr. Haarbrücker i, 277-280

something and from that doubt arose Ahriman. Others contradict this and say that the great Zarvan arose and prayed to himself for 9999 years to have a son, but as that did not come to pass he spoke to himself and reflected and said 'Perhaps this world is nothing', thus Ahriman arose from this one thought and Hurmuz from this knowledge, so that both were simultaneously in one womb [that of Zarvan]. Hurmuz was the nearer the exit, but Ahriman, Satan, had employed a trick so that he split his mother's body and came out first, and took possession of the world. They say that when he stood before Zarvan and when he saw him and knew what ungodliness, wickedness and destruction he had within himself, he was wroth with him and cursed him and thrust him away so that he departed and seized the earth. But for a while Hurmuz remained without power over him [Ahriman], and it is he whom some took for Lord and honoured because they had found in him goodness, purity, wholesomeness and good qualities. Some Zarvanists believe that with God there is constantly something bad, either a bad thought or a bad depravity, and that this is the starting point of Satan. They are of opinion that the world was free from evil, corruption and discord and that all the inhabitants lived perfectly good and in pure amenity, but when Ahriman arose, evil, destruction and strife likewise arose. He was in a place separate from heaven but meditated on guile until he split the heaven and ascended.

"Others, again, say that he was in heaven and that the earth was free from him but he meditated on guile till he clove heaven and descended to the earth with all his hosts. Light with his angels fled, Satan followed them till he encircled them in his garden, and fought with him three thousand years during which Satan did not come to God, for the angels undertook mediation and both [Ahriman and Hurmuz] agreed that for nine thousand years, including the three thousand years of the battle, Iblīs and his hosts should remain in the abode of light [Garodman], then he should go to his own place. According to their opinion, God deemed it best to bear the unpleasantness of Iblīs and his hosts, and did not break the treaty till the time of peace had come to an end, so that till the expiration of this time men have come into misfortune and strife and unhappiness and calamities, but when they will return to their first amenity . . . Abu Hamīd az Zuzanī says that the Magians believe that Iblīs was constantly in the darkness and in the air and in a place separated from the kingdom of God, but he did not cease to draw near and approach

craftily until he saw the light; and he made a leap and intruded into the kingdom of God, into the light; and with himself he brought this destruction and misfortune. Then God created this world as a net for him into which he fell, and in which he is held fast so that he cannot return to his own kingdom. Therefore, held captive in this world, and imprisoned, with destruction and mischief and strife, he shoots at the creation of God, so that he sends the bolt of death against him whom God makes alive, overwhelms with illness him whom He makes well, wounds with sorrows him whom He gives joy. Thus he ceases not till the day of resurrection; but on that day his power is diminished so that there is no strength remaining in him; and when the resurrection takes place, his power is over, his light gone, his strength at an end, and his might vanished; and then he throws himself to the underworld which is darkness with neither boundary nor end. Then God assembles the confessors of religions and judges them, and apportions unto them according as they were obedient or disobedient unto Satan."

Shahrastānī says further concerning the doctrine of Zoroaster [1]:—

"He [Zoroaster] assumed hostility between light and darkness, and conceived the Mediator as one who gives decision over two opponents, mediates between two contestants; wherein it is not possible that His nature and His substance should be those of one of the two opponents since He is god himself, who has no opponent and none like to Him."

When we turn from the non-Iranian to the Iranian sources on Zarvanism, we find our information far more scanty. In the Avesta, allusions to Zarvan as a cosmic principle are very few and are already sufficiently discussed [2], though it may be noted that Time receives honour together with Thwāsha ("Space") in five passages [3].

In the Middle Persian texts, "Boundless Time" appears as a creator only in the *Dīnā-i-Maīnōg-ī-Khirat*, which states (viii, 8-9) that "the creator, Aūharmazd, produced these creatures and creation, the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own splendour, and with the blessing of unlimited time. For this reason, because unlimited time (*zōrvānō-ī-akanārak*) is undecaying and immortal, painless and hungerless, thirstless and undisturbed, and forever and everlasting, no one is able to seize upon it, or to make

1 Tr. Haarbrücker, i, 296.

2 See above, pp. 2, 3.

3 *Yasna*, LXXII, 10; *Nyāish* i, 8; *Sīh Rōcak* i, 21, ii, 21; *Vendīdād*, xix, 3.

it non predominant as regards his own affairs "[1]. The same treatise roundly declares (xxvii, 10)[2] that "the affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny (*breh*, *bhāgyena*) and time (*zaman*, *samayena*) and the supreme decree of the self-eternity, the king and long-continuing lord" (*qat hast zuruin pidishih u derang qadāe*, *svayam samajo riji dirghasvāmi*)[3] "Time" also appears as Fate in a passage of the *Great Bundahishn* translated by Darmesteter[4]: "When the Evil Wind takes life from the body, the Good Wind receives it and gives it resignation to the lot fixed by Heaven and Time" On the other hand, as we have seen[5], the *Dinkart* rejects any thought that Zarvan is superior or anterior to Ormazd, and zāt Sparam, writing in the ninth century, expressly states (i, 24)[6] that "in aid of the *celestial* sphere, he [Auharmazd] produced the creature Time (*Zorvin dim*), and Time is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd moving distinct from the motion of Aharman's creatures" Finally, the *Shikand Gūmānik Vijar*, written probably, in the latter half of the ninth century, criticises (vi, 6)[7] a sect "whom they call daharī"[8] for "accounting this world . an original evolution of boundless time" (*akanaraa jamin bunyashtaa*)

The fragments of Manichaean writings discovered[9] in Chinese Turkistan show that the Iranian doctrine of Zarvanism had been incorporated in Manichaeism[10], a fact which hitherto had been unknown The relevant passages are as follows[11] :—

Mani is "the son of the god Zarvān" (*frazēnd i bay zarvān*):

"May new blessing, new victory come from the god Zarvān upon the 'glories' and the angels the spirits of this world that it accept (?) the holy religion and become a watcher from within and without, a

---

1 Tr West in *SBE*, xxiv 32 Darab Peshotan Sanjana in his edition of the Pahlavi text (Bombay 1895, pp vii ix), dates the work in the reign of Khusrau I 531 579), West (*SBE* xxiv, pp xvi xvii) feels unable to give even an approximate date

2 Tr West, in *SBE* xxiv, 57

3 On the fatalistic tendencies of this work see Casartelli *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, pp 6 7, 86, 100, 144, 148

4 *Le Zend Avesta* Paris, 1892 93, ii, 310

5 Above p 4

6 Tr West in *SBE*, v, 160

7 Tr West, in *SBE*, xxiv, 146

8 This term suggests the heterodox Mohammadan sect of Dahriyya (from دهر 'time') who taught the eternity of time, and hence were charged with atheism (*cf* M Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn, 1912, pp 81 83)

9 F W K Müller *Handschriften Reste in Estrangelo Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch Turkistan*, C Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien*, i, Petrograd, 1908

10 For a convenient summary of this syncretistic religion see A A Bevan, "Manichaeism," in *ERE*, viii, 394 402, and the literature there cited

11 Müller, pp 29, 55, 56, 74, 94, 101

helper and a protector:" "may joy and new salvation come from the god Zarvān;" "I praise the great glory and the god Zarvān, the light, the strength, and the goodness"; "they [the Zoroastrians] say that Ohrmizd and Aharmēn are brothers; and in consequence of this word they go to recompense?"[1]; "praised is and shall be the pure totality of the holy religion through the might of the father, god Zarvān"; "Zarvān and endless Death" (an obscure and fragmentary passage).

It is also possible that the Zarvanite doctrine was current in Commagene in the first century B.C., for in an inscription of Antiochos I at Nimrūd Dāgh[2] the king hopes that, after his soul has passed "to the heavenly thrones of Zeus Oromasdes", his body may "sleep unto endless time" (τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα), while endless time (χρόνος ἄπειρος) "shall set in the [royal] succession of this land in their own lot of life" his successors[3].

According to the modern Mandaeans[4], the Prince of Darkness comes with Mānā Rabbā ("Great Vessel") from Pīrā Rabbā ("Great Fruit"), which thus seems to be a reminiscence of Zarvanite doctrine[5]; Dr. Gray has suggested that the meaningless epithet *Zārdānāyātā* applied to Tāhmūrāt in the Mandaean *Sidrā Rabbā* should be read *Zārvānāyātā*, "the Zarvanite"[6], since Perso-Arabic tradition regarded him as the king in whose reign idolatry first flourished[7].

It is quite impossible to consider this subject apart from considering "Fate" and "Destiny," for they are very closely associated with "Time" and "Space." It is, of course, quite natural to connect the destinies of mankind with the Arranger of all, and when this First Principle is "Boundless Time," the two thoughts are closely linked together; while Dr. Gray is of the opinion that the tendencies of Fate are strongly suggestive of Zarvanism[8].

---

[1] On this passage Cumont (*Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i, 8, note 2, Brussels, 1808) very pertinently remarks: "that the Manichaeans knew Parsiism under its Zarvanite form is evident from a polemic condemning those who say that Ormazd and Ahriman are brothers."

[2] W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig, 1903-1905, i, 593-603 (No. 383).

[3] Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 107; Gray, "Missions (Zoroastrian)," in *ERE*, viii, 750.

[4] On this syncretistic religion see W. Brandt, "Mandaeans," in *ERE*, viii, 380-393, and his *Die mandaische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889.

[5] Brandt, *Die mandaische Religion*, p. 194.

[6] *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, xix (1906), 275.

[7] F. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin, 1863, pp. 206, 207.

[8] Art. "Fate (Iranian)", in *ERE*, v, 792.

References to "Fate" are very rare in orthodox Zoroastrianism; and if it had any part in that religion, it was contrary to the precepts of Zoroaster, who gave no place to such doctrines, but made Ormazd the helper of man in every extremity. Man must decide for himself; then Ormazd comes to his assistance, and all the powers of evil cannot keep him from the path of duty if he determines to follow it.[1]

It would seem, however, that there is another connecting link between Mithraism and Zarvanism, if not with the orthodox belief itself. In the Rivāyet of Dastūr Barzū and the shorter 'Ulamā i-Islām[2] the planets and constellations have a very important part in the affairs of men and order all the affairs of the world. Knowledge of them was, therefore, important, for certain aspects of the stars were propitious, and others were of ill omen. The planets were on the side of Ahriman, while the constellations and the Sun and the Moon fought for Ormazd. The astrology may have been borrowed, as some suggest, from the Babylonians, and Mithra the sun god, certainly held a very important place in the whole scheme. To try to dissociate astrology from Mithraism, or from Zoroastrianism, would be quite impossible, but, on the other hand, it is very difficult to trace its origin and to know how the one influenced or was influenced by, the other. It is proved beyond doubt that in the Indo-Iranian period both peoples worshipped the powers of nature and must have adored Mithra[3], although Zoroaster sought to banish him in his reforming zeal against all that savoured of nature-cult.[4]

According to the Rivāyet, the seven devils were chained to the sky, and thus the planets became evil.

> "And they captured seven devils who were worse and carried them to the sky. And they captured four of those seven devils who were the worst, and on the eighth heaven which they call the Fixed Heaven they bound them with spiritual cords. And they set the Venanto star to guard those four devils so that they could not commit wickedness, and the other three devils, one of

---

1 Nevertheless, *baxta* occurs thrice in the same sense as the Persian بخت *Yasht* viii, 23 "Fate (upon thee,) Religion of Mazda" (parallel with *Sādra*, "woe," and *urvishtra*, "destruction"), *Vendīdād*, v, 8 "There, then, Fate is fulfilled, there it is completed" (of a man apparently drowned, but in reality carried away by demons) *Vendīdād*, xxi, 1 'Thou (the Ox) givest his portion to the righteous'

2 Dārāb Hormazyārs Rivayet, Vol II, pp 62 66

3 See A Meillet, "Le Dieu indo iranien Mitra", in *Journal asiatique*, x i (1907), 143 159, A Eggers, *Der arische Gott Mitra*, Dorpat, 1894, F Spiegel, *Die arische Periode*, Leipzig, 1887, pp 178 188, A A Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strasbourg, 1897, pp 29, 30,

4 Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp 139 141.

them, like Saturn, who is very unlucky, they placed on the seventh heaven. And in this heaven which is the sixth heaven they gave Jupiter a place, who is very fortunate. And the second devil who is Mars, is less unlucky and they gave him a place in the fifth heaven. And on the fourth heaven which is between the heavens, they gave a place to the Sun............They gave a place to Saturn and Mars opposite the heaven but higher than the heaven of the Sun, so that the poison and pollution which they scattered in the world, that poison and pollution should be dissolved by the heat of the Sun and should arrive less on the earth"[1].

In a passage already quoted [2] from Theodore of Mopsuestia Zarvan and Fate are linked together; and Eznik [3] translates Zarvan by *baxt*, "fortune," and park, "glory." From this it would seem that Zarvanism was especially connected with fate [4], and that in the dealings of the Founder of all things they could see something of the hand which fixed the destinies of men and made all things come to pass according to his will. Dhalla suggests [5] that the fortunes of the Persians led them to believe in Fate. The planets and constellations, working together, control the affairs of the world; and movements of the heavens have power over mankind which none can hinder, for though some things come by human acts and volition, much is so destined that it cannot be altered.

Some authors have suggested that Zarvanism was due to a desire to escape from what was at least the apparent dualism [6] of the early Iranian period; yet both Fate and free will had their places, and Dhalla quotes Tansar's parable that the actions of man and the decrees of Fate are like the camel's load, which must be evenly balanced lest it fall. If man does not do his share, some calamity will surely come upon him, and the idle blame Fate for things that they might avoid [7]. Spiegel [8] even held that the difference between the Zarvanites and the orthodox Zoroastrians was in cosmogony rather than in theogony.

---

1 Dârâb Hormazyârś Rivâyet, Vol. II, p. 63.

2 See above, pp. 6, 7.

3 Tr. Schmid, p. 90.

4 Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, p. 6.

5 Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, pp. 205-208.

6 Whether Zoroastrianism is really dualistic seems [illegible] cf. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, Bologna, 1920, pp. [illegible] *on*......the *Parsis*, pp. 305-309; Casartelli, "Dualism (Iranian)," in *ERE*, v, [illegible] 11, 12; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 125, 126, deriving dualism from the Magi, pp. 201, 202, 220, 221).

7 Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 208.

8 *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, ii, 184.

In the early stages of the study of Zoroastrianism reference was continually made to the Avesta, but nothing could be ascertained about it since it was written in a language then unknown to the students of Europe. The first serious attempt to translate it was made by Anquetil du Perron, who in his version of *Vendidad*, xix, 9, was led into error which for a time caused much misunderstanding of actual Zoroastrian theology by making Boundless Time the Creator instead of the created, thus seeming to inculcate Zarvanite belief He rendered the passage in question as follows [1] "Ahriman, the Master of the evil law! the Being absorbed in glory hath given thee, the Boundless Time hath given thee, it hath given, also, with magnificence the Amshasfands" According to this, Ahriman was created by Time, which Anquetil translated in the nominative case as the subject, though in a footnote he gives the actual Avesta text, and that his version was not mere oversight is seen from his note on the passage, in which he declares that this is the principle of the religion of Zoroaster, proceeding to comment on the value of the doctrine as compared with other religions The correct translation however, runs "O crafty Angra Mainyu The Holy Spirit created (the prayer Ashem Vohu Vahishtom) created (it) in boundless time, the well ruling well thinking Amosha Spentas created (it)" "Boundless time" is in the locative, not in the nominative, and the Pahlavi version of the passage recognizes this in rendering by *pavan Zamânô i akanarak*, "in boundless time" At the same time it must be remembered that Anquetil relied upon the Dasturs who aided him and that the version was made in good faith since it is inconceivable that they would have permitted a translation not in accord with their honest convictions regarding their theology [2]

This misinterpretation is of interest then, as showing the attitude of the eighteenth century Dasturs, who would have known the real teaching of Zoroastrianism if it had not been corrupted before their time Evidently, in their day Zarvanism had become part and parcel of orthodox belief and this is confirmed by such documents as the Rivayet of Dastur Barzu

Many authorities hold that there is a certain tendency towards this same theory in modern Theosophy Thus Dhalla says [3] that Theosophists have attempted to trace the origin of things to an

---

[1] *Zend Avesta ouvrage de Zorastre* Paris, 1771, I, ii, 414 *cf* also the discussion of Abbé Foucher on Zarvan, tr J F Kleuker *Zend Avesta*, Leipzig, 1776 83, Anhang I, ii, 281 291

[2] On Anquetil s translation *cf* Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, pp 23 26

[3] *Zoroastrian Theology*, pp 364 365, *cf* Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi*, pp 189 190

impersonal being which they have found in this concept of Time. They claim that possession of personality means limitation by the finite, whence, in the neuter concept of Boundless Time, they have that of which nothing can be predicated, and which will fulfil the requisite infinite conception. He suggests, furthermore, that Zarvanism in its ancient form may have been invented by the Persians themselves to save their religion from the charge of dualism, especially as they found difficulty in explaining the origin of Ahriman except by the creation of Ormazd, whereas their enemies attacked them on this point, saying that if Ormazd created Ahriman, he was the source of evil as well as of good. In the earlier period, Zarvan was a concept of personality as we have seen in the birth of the twins; but the Theosophists, aided, perhaps, by the concept of Brahmā in philosophic Hinduism[1], have made Time an impersonal abstraction and an abstract principle whence their kinship to the Zarvanites is only superficial and in no sense real.

REFERENCES.

ERE—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings, 12 vols., Edinburgh, 1908-21.

SBE—The Sacred Books of the East, ed. F. Max Müller. 50 Vols., Oxford.

Eznik of Kolb, *Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb Wider die Sekten,* tr. J. M. Schmid. Vienna, 1900.

Langlois, V., *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie.* 2 Vols., Paris, 1867-69.

Nöldeke, T., *Syrische polemik gegen die persische Religion,* in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth,* Stuttgart, 1893.

Ash-Shahrastānī, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen,* tr T. Haarbrücker. 2 Vols., Halle, 1850-51.,

'Ulamā-i-Islām, Shorter, Version. Ed. J. Mohl and J. Olshausen, *Fragments relatifs á la religion de Zoroastre extraits des manuscript-persans de la bibliothēque du roi,* Paris, 1829; tr. J. A. Vullers, *Fragmente ueber die Religion des Zoroaster,* Bonn, 1831, pp. 43-67 (and) E. Blochet, *Le alivre intitule l'Oulemā-i-Islām,* in *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* xxvii (1898), 23-49.

Casartelli, L. C., *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion, under the Sassinids,* tr. Firoz Jamaspji Dastur Jamasp Asa. Bombay, 1889.

[1] Moulton, The Treasure of the Magi, p. 189.

Clemen C *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten uber die persische Religion* Giessen 1920

Cumont F, *Texte et monuments figures relatifs aux mysteres de Mithra* 2 Vols Brussels, 1896 99

Darmesteter J *Ormazd et Ahriman* Paris, 1877

Dhalla M N *Zoroastrian Theology* New York 1914

Haug M, *Essays on . the Parsis* 3rd ed by E W West London, 1884

Moulton, J H *Early Zoroastrianism* London, 1913

Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi* Oxford, 1917

Spiegel, F, *Erânische Alterthumskunde* 3 Vols, Leipzig 1871-78

EDUCATIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE GĀTHĀS,

By R. Zimmermann, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Plato[1] puts it down as one of the purposes of cultured life that "we are to generate and educate children, handing on the torch of life, that generation after generation may arise to serve the gods according to law and custom." Education then is "the attempt on the part of the adult and formed members of the human society to shape the development of the coming generation in accordance with its own ideals of life."[2] All the educational endeavours may be summed up as the providing, guiding and forming influence of grown up and mature men on the development of the growing ones to make them fit for sharing the rights and duties, the advantages and values which are the basis of human society. The system of education will be fixed by the standard aimed at by the community and expressed by its culture. It is either merely external, making those educated fit subjects of a police state or organisation, or it extends over body and soul, putting the mind and conscience of the pupil under its jurisdiction and forming them in the first place. According to the standard a materialistic, realistic, humanistic and religious education may be distinguished. This standard in the ordinary course of history will be the standard of the community; in cases however of creative and progressive personalities, of men with a prophetic mission, or of real reformers, the standard is outside and above that of the community. It may be the outcome of a genius or of a mission from above or of both.

Gauging Zarathuštra's personality and work[3] by the above principles, it becomes at the outset very likely indeed that in his speeches educational moments of no mean value and those in considerable numbers are to be found. For he himself (probably) from West Iran, with a higher standard of culture, found he had a message to deliver to the people of East Iran. That message, being by no means of a purely religious character without far-reaching consequences for the practical life, had to be conveyed and driven home in a form and manner which would go beyond the mere sermon and patient preaching. Other means, such as alliance with political power and potent persons, had to be pressed into the service of the new doctrine. But Zarathuštra essentially remained the teacher of a new tenet, half religious half economical though it might be. It was mainly a teacher's and preacher's life which

1 In Nomoi 6 776.

2 Encyclopædia Britannica, s. v.

3 The historicity of Zarathuštra and his reform is supposed throughout this paper.

he led and a prophet's work he spent his life on. It will then be of interest to find out Zarathuštra's qualifications from a pedagogical point of view; to see the method which he employed in teaching; the goal he was aiming at; the fortitude with which he faced discouraging odds; how he bore failures; what he presupposed in his pupils and what he demanded from them; and finally the success which he achieved.

The main if not the exclusive source of information on all these points are naturally the Gāthās. For they alone bear the personal stamp of the struggling prophet and militant teacher, and are free from the ritualistic formalism characterising the other (younger) parts of the Avesta.[1] The Gāthās are the *Sravɔ Zarathuštri* to an extent which cannot be ascribed to the rest of the sacred Scriptures of ancient Irān. These Gāthās appear to be historical, though the actual facts to which they refer and the occasions on which they were composed are known but in very few cases.[2] This historical character of the Gāthās remains, though they might not be composed by Zarathuštra himself, but originate from persons belonging to the "inner circle" around Zarathuštra. That they give Zarathuštra's mind and reflect his personality as no other section of the Avesta does there can be little doubt. The Gāthās are a good deal more than a moral anthology,[3] the dogmatic foundations for, and the practical, nay even economical conclusions of, the moral precepts being not only implied but stated in explicit and definite words.

Whether the Gāthās may be said to contain the esoteric doctrine of Zarathuštra is not so clear either.[4] If Gāthā in the Avesta[5] has the same origin and meaning as it has in brahmanic and buddhist literature, then the Yasnas that go by this name originally have been either the verses accompanying the prose of the sermon or the narrative, or they are the summary of the speech, given at the end to facilitate and ensure remembering. In any case these Gāthās, now often enough consisting of seemingly disconnected stanzas, endeavour to bring home one leading idea; their form marks them off from all the other parts of the Avesta: in short, they are just what we would expect a summary of a speech to be. As they stand the Gāthās are frequently enigmatic, at least dynamic,

[1] In the Gāthās Zarathuštra is a man subject to human infirmities. "Zarathuštra, everywhere else nearly or quite a demi-god, is here a struggling and suffering man." Mills, SBE XXXI, p. 1.

[2] The few facts known seem to be concerned more with the personal or family-history of Zarathuštra than with the history of his reform; see Y. 53, commemorating the events at the marriage of Zarathuštra's daughter Pourucištā, for example.

[3] Mills, l. c., p. 2.

[4] See Mills, l. c.

[5] See K. F. Geldner, Awestalitteratur, p. 29, in Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, Zweiter Abschnitt.

of a form therefore as could not possibly be suited for an absolutely raw and uncultured audience, which occasionally if not habitually seems to have flouted even the most elementary dictates of natural law. But the question is not whether at the time when the Gāthās were composed there was a large following of Zarathuštra, all of whom were well acquainted with Zarathuštra's teaching, or a small select group, an inner circle, not open to the common crowd. From all we know of Zarathuštra's experiences, including his triumphs and failures, there was in the beginning only a small group that loyally received and carried out his word; the large mass of the East Iranian people never seems to have embraced Zarathuštra's message to that extent that it did give up all the old inherited liturgical usage or did not revert, after a time of renunciation, to what had been at the instance of the prophet forsaken[1] The term Gāthā by itself is no more a proof for or against their esoteric character than the same brahmanic or buddhist term is The question then remains whether Zarathuštra ever intended to initiate his hearers in a different, i e, higher and lower, degree This does not seem likely, neither the tenor[2] of the Gāthās nor the character and contents of Zarathuštra's teaching, which was meant as a message of salvation for every Iranian, lend support to the view that the Gāthās are esoteric teaching Not every teaching that is above the standard of the surroundings is esoteric The question is whether Zarathuštra ever intended to get all Iran into his fold and to teach them the whole message he thought he was entrusted with. And both these questions have to be answered in the affirmative, unless indeed we have badly misread the character of Zarathuštra and his work as a teacher

To enter into details, the Gāthās are full of hints on Zarathuštra's teaching, its aim and effects, success and failure, and the method followed, on the subject taught, the teacher and his necessary qualifications, on the pupil and on the reward To start with the teaching, the aim of teaching is set forth in Yasna 30 9 —"And we would fain be those who make mankind fit", and Y 31. 2 .—"Since the better way to be chosen is not clearly seen, I turn to you all, (I) as a judge (of truth) between the two parties here, as whom Mazdāh Ahura knows me, so that we may live from (=according to) Holy Right." Zarathuštra's teaching is primarily directed to the formation of the mind and the salvation of the soul, Y 28 4 —"I who am mindful to watch over the soul (of man) together with the Good Spirit....." The teaching appeals to all, Y. 31. 3:—"What thou through the spirit and fire art to prepare as reward—having

[1] Haoma cult and idolatry, for instance

[2] The passages adduced by Geldner, l. c —Y. 46 3; 48. 3; Yašt 4 9; 13 16 do not prove that the Gāthās are esoteric.

been taught through Aša—to the two parties, what the destiny of the knowing ones is going to be: that do thou make known to us that I may convince all that live."[1]

The founder of Zoroastrianism aims in his teaching at the formation of the higher and inner man, the will has to be trained that it may become the sure guide of conduct, Y. 31. 11 :—"When thou, O Mazdāh, in the beginning didst create through the spirit individuals and individualities and mental powers, when thou didst (settle) works and doctrines that one may practise one's convictions according to one's will ...."[2]. The effects of Zarathuštra's teaching are in the first place moral and immaterial, so Y. 32. 7, where a virtuous life and its reward on the day of reckoning are put before the hearer :—"None of those crimes the knowing one shall perpetrate, desirous of the gain, revealed as we know, through the glowing metal; those crimes the end of which thou, O Mazdāh Ahura, knowest best." A determination steadfastly to abide by the doctrine and the other-world promises held out is the result of Zarathuštra's teaching, Y. 34. 10 :—"The knowing one has declared to stick to the works of this Good Spirit, and to Ārmatay, the creating, Aša's companion, he the understanding one, and to all the hopes, O, Ahura, in thy kingdom, O Mazdāh." A direct and material effect is pointed out in Y. 29. 10, where Zarathuštra prays :—"You, O Ahura grant on their (the kine's) behalf the strength, O Right and Good Spirit that rule, by which he (the teaching prophet) may procure for them, good lodging and peace."

Zarathuštra's method of teaching reveals the qualities of all those who have become the guides of their people for centuries. The clear notion of what they are going to say, though in bulk that may not be so very much ; the careful logical and psychological disposition of the matter to be taught; the sizing up of the audience's receptive powers, the condescending adaptation to the surroundings in things that do not matter or that may be helpful ; the emphasis with which the cardinal truths are driven home, the consistency between practice and preaching, all these factors may be discerned in the Gāthās, though they are only fragments of the real and living speech. The subject-matter is clearly announced in Y. 30. 1:—" Now I shall speak to those who are willing to listen of all that which the understanding one is to remember for the praises of Ahura and the prayers to Vohu Manah, and of the delight which together with Aša is seen by him who imprints it well on his mind, together with the world of light." As a specimen of didactic

1. Stanzas 31. 2, 3 quoted above, do not sound very esoteric.
2 Zarathuštra makes Ahura Mazdāh's teaching his own, cp. Y. 29. 8.

exposition may serve Y 30 3 8 where in a pragmatic form, but with the smallest possible amount of imagery and without any mythology whatsoever, a few clear lines are drawn, round which the whole system of Zarathuštra's doctrine may be filled in,—the historic-dogmatic basis laid for the dualistic strife which centuries of writers and commentators have endeavoured to prove and illustrate Even in the Gāthās which cannot have preserved but little more than traces of the earnestness of the preacher and of his direct communication with the hearer, there is still enough of these to be seen to credit Zarathuštra's actual teaching with them In Y 45 1 6 he says —"I shall speak now listen, now hear you who coming from near and far, seek knowledge." Five times more the phrase —"I shall speak of . " introduces some vital doctrine In a categorical imperative Zarathuštra speaks in Y 48 7 —' Stop the mal wrath, resist cruelty .' The abomination in which the prophet held the intoxicating haoma drink found drastic expression in Y 48 10 In the use of the second person singular, in Y 45 8 9 —"Thou shalt try and gain Him with hymns of worship. ' (8), "thou shalt seek to gain His pleasure " (9), he does not address a certain person of his closer following but everyone of his hearers Though the Gāthas are naturally composed in a jejune style yet Zarathuštra's speech evidently was not quite devoid of metaphorical expressions that it was concrete and adapted to the surrounding atmosphere is to be expected See Y 46 3 where dawns are called the bulls of the days, hymns of praise appear as coursers to carry the celestials to him and his help, Y 50 7 [1] The phraseology used in Y 31 14, 47 6 and 49 8 to signify the title to reward for good works reminds one of mercantile dealings The basic formula *humata, huchta and hvaršta*, which comprises Zoroastrian morality undoubtedly goes back to passages like Y 47 2 — The best of his Holy Spirit is to be fulfilled by the words of the good mind with the speech of the tongue, by the works of the hands through the loyal piety following upon the conviction He Mazdāh, is the father of Right" A fairly clear instance of dynamic teaching is given in 53 5 —"Warning I proclaim to the brides and to you (the bridegrooms) the teaching, impress them well on your memory, learn interiorly to understand them zealously endeavouring after the life of the good mind" The prophet will be satisfied only with a consistent and whole hearted following — "He who makes his thinking now better, now worse, and (also) by his action and speech (makes) his I (now better, now worse) he, according to the decree will be separated at the end of things" Y 48 4 The analysis of a Gāthā will

1 Compare with this the phraseology of the Ṛgveda

give an idea how Zarathuštra set to work in his teaching and brought home the lesson he intended to convey. Yasna 45, a self-contained lecture, may serve the purpose. In stanza 1 the contents are announced, the persons mentioned to whom the sermon is addressed, the way indicated in which to make the new doctrine one's own. Stanzas 2-10 treat of the subject-matter in the following arrangement :—

A. The Word of Ahura Mazdāh:
- (*a*) the origin of the word, 2-3 ;
- (*b*) the purpose of the word :
  - (1) for this life, 4 ;
  - (2) for the life to come, 5 ;

B. Ahura Mazdāh himself :
- (*a*) A.M.'s greatness and kindness ; Zarathuštra's prayer for light, 6 ;
- (*b*) power of A. M., 7 ;
- (c) honour due to him, 8 ;
- (*d*) service of him in this life :
  - (1) by agriculture, 9 ;
  - (2) by praise, 10 ;

C. Zarathuštra : he is to be supported, 11.

Though Zarathuštra naturally is anxious to obtain the protection of the mighty ones,[1] yet coercion is not generally advocated by him; in case of conflicting doctrines and indecision " Ārmatay goes from one to the other, deliberating with him whose mind is vacillating ", Y. 31. 12. Even towards-women in these matters no force is to be used, but impressive persuasion. In Y. 53. 3 with Pourucištā, Zarathuštra's daughter, her husband may only use zealous persuasion, not coercive jurisdiction. To safeguard, however, the doctrine Zarathuštra advocates in Y. 53. 8 measures which hardly would be in favour with our humanitarian age :—" They whose doing is evil shall be the deceived ones, given over to perdition ; they shall cry out. Through good rulers let Him cause murder and bloodshed to be committed (among the evil-doers) and (thus) give peace to the happy villages. Let Him bring torture over them, He (Mazdāh) who is the greatest, together with the fetter of death ; and let it be soon !" That the form of Zarathuštra's teaching is mainly oral goes without saying ; compare among other passages Y. 50. 6 : " (I) the prophet who in prayer raises his voice, O Mazdāh, the friend of Aša, Zarathuštra :—that my tongue may have a (right) way the creator of the mind's power may teach me his law."

[1] See Gāthās *passim*.

The subject of Zarathuštra's teaching is given negatively in Y. 43 15 :—"The follower of the Druj is not to be pleased again and again for all the followers of Aša make them their enemies" From Y 31 2 it is evident that the doctrine has to be revealed, because it is hidden to the ordinary mortal —'Since the better way to be chosen is not clearly seen * " The extent of the subject matter to be taught is indicated in Y 43 3 — The right and true ways that profit the bodily and spiritual life (leading) towards the creatures with which Ahura lives", if taught to others will lead the teacher "to that which is better than good" A more detailed and fairly complete programme of Zarathuštra's teaching is contained in Y 44 —[1]

1. Method and use of prayer, stanza 1,
2. Happiness of the 'Second Life", trust in Zarathuštra, st 2[2],
3. Cosmogonic and cosmological matters, origin of the social and moral orders, st 4 7,
4. Happy Consummation, st 8,
5. Zarathuštra's person, message and office he is a protector "of those that are ', his doubts about success, st 9 18,
6. Punishment for not keeping one's promise st 19,
7. Nature of the daēvas st 20[3]

With remarkable clearness the qualifications of a teacher are set forth in the Gāthās Rightly knowledge is emphasised as the chief title to instruction "The best shall be the lot of him who a knowing one, manifests to me Aša's right word of welfare and immortality "is said in Y 31 6 As a matter of fact the wise have the monopoly of teaching —"The knowing one shall instruct the knowing one (the faithful), no longer shall the ignorant lead astray," Y 31 17[4] The prophet has no more earnest wish than that to know through Aša the right paths, and through Vohu Manah how to practise agriculture, Y 33 6 Madyōimānho Spitama is mentioned as one who has grasped the doctrine and is anxious and competent to teach it, Y 51 19 Being the messenger of Ahura Mazdāh, Zarathuštra is keen to know him —"I will get to know thee as a Strong and Holy One, O Mazdāh .", 43 4, a wish that appears fulfilled in 5[5] With an open mind, as a wise one, as

1 The phrase "That I ask thee', repeated 19 times puts the Gāthic stamp on this Yasna more than on any other

2 Compare with this the Buddhist formula "I take my refuge in the Doctrine, the Buddha the Samgha"

3 This stanza may be of later date

4 The same idea is positively and negatively expressed in Yasna 31 17

5 Compare besides the same Yasna 7, 9, 11, 13, 15

befits Ahura Mazdāh's legate, Zarathuštra desires to see Mazdāh and Vohu Manah, Y. 28. 5. The intensity of that desire to know is brought into relief by his query, put not less than 19 times :—"That I ask thee, answer right to me, O Ahura," in Y. 44. 1-19. A sign for the reward and hence the truth of Zarathuštra's doctrine is asked from Mazdāh in Y. 51. 9. In Y. 43. 3 the teacher of the right paths is supposed to be knowing and holy like Mazdāh himself.[1] Courage and unvarnished profession of his conviction are expected from the teacher in Y. 43. 14 :—"Together with all those who are mindful of thy words I shall rise to attack the violators of thy doctrine." A very fine touch of the true teacher is found in 50. 9, where personal interest in the pupil is revealed :—"When I (myself) shall be disposing of my merit, then I shall carefully watch that the knowing one will get it (the same)." The ideal teacher is depicted in Zarathuštra's person, Y. 33. 14, where self-forgetfulness, right thought, speech and deed, obedience towards God, and authority over others are pointed out as constituent elements of his professional character as a teacher.

In Y. 50. 11 Zarathuštra says of himself :—"The singer of your praise I shall be and be called as long, O Aša, as I am able." Singer in this connection means preacher, prophet. Zarathuštra was aware that he had to legitimate himself as the teacher of a new belief and life, and to justify the doctrine he was preaching. He therefore first establishes his intimate relation with Ahura Mazdāh and Vohu Manah whom he claims as his teacher in such a way as no one before or even after him could do. Y. 43. 12 has it that "at the behest of Ahura Mazdāh Zarathuštra goes to Aša to be instructed ; he has been instructed by both Ahura Mazdāh and Vohu Manah, as Yasna 43. 11 says. Zarathuštra is not only one competent teacher among many, but he claims to be the only channel of the revealed doctrine ; for in Y. 29. 8 he assures his followers that he alone had heard the doctrine of Ahura Mazdāh and Vohu Manah ; nay, he has been called from the beginning, 44.11. Vohu Manah examines Zarathuštra, Y. 43. 7, and thus he may claim to be not only the first, but also a tried and faithful teacher, Y. 46. 9. And if Zarathuštra is not the mouth-piece of Vohu Manah, he certainly possesses it and meditates on it at each fire offering, 43. 9. Hence his claim to be a saviour whose vocation it is to repair the injury inflicted on mankind by Aešma and the Daēvas, 30. 6. He is able to help the faithful, because he is helped by Ahura Mazdāh, 43. 13, 14. Endowed with the power of sanction, Zarathuštra is not only a helper, but a judge as well,

1 The stanza refers to Zarathuštra himself ; but the form suggests that he demands the same qualifications from every teacher.

cp Y 31 2, 33 1, 43 4, 45 11[1] "He will never become untrue to the mission entrusted to him," 'Your singer, O Mazdāh, I shall be and be called, as long as I may and can, O Aša', Y 50 11 Zarathuštra is a mighty one, Y 43 10, who has got the power to make good his promises and by its outcome to show, as he pleases, his doctrine to be true, Y 31 19 It is therefore a modest claim on his part that he is worthy of fame, 46 13 The prophet of Ahura Mazdah does not forget that charity in matters spiritual as well as material begins at home he prays for his bride that Ahura Mazdah may grant it to her to enter for her good self into the possession of Aša, 51 17. We are certainly not wrong in presuming that he supported during his wedded life the prayer by preaching Zarathuštra is so convinced that he is the messenger and organ of Ahura Mazdāh that Zarathuštra's name by itself is a credential, 43 8, and the readiness to please him (by accepting his teaching) becomes a title to welfare in this world and a claim to the 'Second Life", Y 46 13 Yet in spite, or perhaps on account, of his prerogatives Zarathuštra is not jealous, 51 22, and he never assumes a position which he thinks is not his, he frankly says that Ahura Mazdah is the (real) lawgiver (46 15) and the first teacher, 51 3

With all his claims to authority, consisting of great personal powers and the mission from above, Zarathuštra experiences fully the difficulties of teaching In Y 46 1-4 he confesses a complete temporary failure and does not hide the fact that his own personal position is precarious, even desperate The measures of advancing and protecting the teaching are thought out and given in the two verses of the same Yasna following the confession of failure These means consist in effective propaganda and powerful connections Helpers that deserve and earn the gratitude of Zarathuštra are mentioned in Y 46 14 17, 51 19 and 53 2 Though in general he goes himself, and expects his followers to go the whole way, yet some compromise is offered in 48 4, where the roots of the later doctrine of the Half Ones are lying

Zarathuštra possessed the genius of the great reformer and showed the energy necessary for a man who is convinced of his leadership as a duty, still the difficulties besetting him without are clearly reflected in his mind, and they must have cast deep shadows on his toilsome paths In Y 51 4—6 doubt appears mingled with assurance, but the Gathās have preserved utterances which prove that Zarathuštra at times doubted about all but everything, the doctrine he was preaching not excepted His own safety appears endangered in Y 46 7, vital points of his doctrine concerning himself and his followers, are in painful suspense in Y 48

1 Where patoiš seems to signify Judge

2; 8, 9, 10, 11. Gauging well the inadequacy of his means for the accomplishment of the task before him, he is casting about for a protector both for his doctrine and himself, Y. 49. 7, 12 ; but, will he find him ? that is the anxious query. The doubt whether he will meet a helper for himself and his beasts comes out in 50. 1. Strange to see, even a matter that formed the frequent burden of his sermon and was put forward by him as an attraction for his doctrine appeared, at one time at least, doubtful, for in Y. 50. 2 he asks :—" Will he come into the possession of the cow bringing the fortune, (he) who desires to get it together with pasture ? " The answer given by Ahura Mazdāh does not meet the question, but is a general promise of the reward of the wise, and shows that the enquiry is not a mere rhetorical question. Nor is Zarathuštra certain about the real and final success of his teaching : of the 19 questions of Yasna 44 not less than three are the expression of the doubt about the issue of the terrible struggle between Aša and the Druj. verses 13, 14, and 15 ; in 11 and 17 Zarathuštra does not hide the doubts whether his teaching will reform the inner man (11), and bring the Zoroastrian nearer to God (17). It cannot surprise that, working in a sphere not reached by logical conclusions and inaccessible to psychological observations, the founder of the new religion asks Ahura Mazdāh for an assuring vision (16).

Constantly beset with difficulties from without and oftener than one might expect upset by doubts in his own soul, as Zarathuštra was, there is small wonder that he puts his hope in help from above. " Come together with Vohu Manah, grant, O Mazdāh, according to thy sublime words long-lasting, strong support as a gift to Zarathuštra", he prays in 28. 6. Support by Ahura Mazdāh is one of the two great wishes expressed in 43. 13, 14. The principle of prayer and its efficiency is laid down in Y. 28. 10 :—" For I know that with you imploring words such as serve a good cause, will have success." Help from above is necessary for the teacher and the pupil :—" O Mazdāh, make known to me the best teachings and actions, O Vohu Manah and O Aša, the due praise ; through your might, O Ahura, make it true that mankind may be fit according to your will", Y. 34. 15. An humble and earnest prayer for instruction is contained in 50. 6, where Ahura Mazdāh's enlightening assistance is considered as a *conditio sine qua non* of the " way ", *i.e.*, the correct teaching. The wider the range of influence which Zarathuštra has in view for his teaching, the more necessary becomes help from on high, Y. 33. 7, 8. In 34. 12, 13 Zarathuštra asks for light as to the Law itself, the divine will (cp. 49. 6), the kind of praise and the manner of prayer, and the way of Vohu Manah (in everyday life). It is but natural that in the sore plight depicted in Y. 46. 1-4 the only ray of hope

for his missionary work will not go unrequited 28. 5 ; 46. 2. The requital is awaiting teacher and pupil alike: see 53. 1, where Zarathuštra says :—"The greatest good known is that of Zarathuštra Spitama, *viz.*, that Mazdāh Ahura will give him through Aša the glorious blessed life for all time to come. And so to those who bear in mind and practise the words and works of his good religion."

Zarathuštra is fully aware that on the part of the hearer a certain disposition of head and heart is necessary to make his teaching a success. The knowing one, the wise, the prudent are primarily, if not exclusively addressed, to gain him first and then to win over others through him, YY. 31. 3, 22 ; 48. 3 ; 51. 8 ; in 28. 10 Zarathuštra prays for the prudent whom by their right doing and thinking Ahura Mazdāh has found worthy. Mazdāh Ahura himself will separate the wise from the fools, and the same distinction is to be made by the Spitamas : 46. 17, 15. Obedience is the virtue of a true disciple of Zoroaster, 46. 17 ; to grasp the doctrine a collected and good mind is necessary, 46. 16 ; 30. 9.—The attitude of the audience will vary according to their disposition, 31. 1. It is the expressed object of Zarathuštra's prayer to get a hearing, 28. 7, and he asks for sympathy and shelter to bring home to his audience the new doctrine :—" Take me up, O men, to get instruction for the good covenant", he says in 29. 11. As his disciple is to be a whole-hearted follower of the new, exacting teaching (53. 7), the doubt naturally arises, whether the hearers will really observe the teaching in pious devotion, 44. 10, or content themselves with lip-service, nay, will ever a good number turn to Zarathuštra's practice and not only to his preaching ?

Points of method in acquiring knowledge even may be deduced from the Gāthās. In 31. 5 Zarathuštra asks Aša for instruction, that he may distinguish (good from bad), perceive (the true doctrine) and keep (it) in his memory, qualifications for which he has already become an object of envy. Application to the task of learning is demanded in 30. 1, where the knowing one is at the same time supposed to be a humązdrā, one who imprints the lesson well into his mind. Common sense psychology speaks out of the words of Y. 30. 2 :—" Hear the best thing with your ears, look at it with a pure (eye of the) mind for the decision between the two creeds." If people are undecided, let them collect and concentrate their thoughts, Y. 30. 9. Constantly having before one's eyes the consequences of Ahura Mazdāh's commandments is the foundation for future welfare, 30. 11.

Zarathuštra knew too much of human nature as not to see that merely social or disciplinary measures of reform would not get hold of the inner, higher self of man, the better I, the human person. Because he appeals

to the personality, he has to insist on understanding and grasping as well as embracing with the whole heart his doctrine, and he appealed to the personality because he was aware that the real, inner conversion is a matter of the free will of the individual man, not of the external social order, or the protection or the persecution of the mighty ones Thus he must have been in right earnest when, at the very beginning of his preaching, he so emphatically said —"With your ears hear the best, look at it with a clear mind, for the decision between the two faiths, man by man, before the great work (of reckoning), for his own person, that it may be accomplished in his favour, Y 30 2 And the appeal to the personal individuality, 51 17, 21, in his sermon could consistently be made by Zarathuštra, because he himself had been imploring Mazdāh in 46 7 —"Of such doctrine grant knowledge to my I" The personality must be approached and gained, since nothing less than the personality is to be saved, 53 4, 6 Even a wife is not to be coerced, but only persuaded by her own husband to adopt and practise the new faith, 53 3, as nobody is to be saved against his will

When Zarathuštra has shown his zeal by inviting everybody into his fold, and using every possible means in his power to win him over to Ahura Mazdāh's cause, but finds all his efforts wasted, then he excludes the obstinate from the teaching and the disbeliever becomes a Druj fellow, a companion of the essential and confirmed Untruth and Wrong For such there is neither grace in this world, nor salvation in the other, cp 44 12 and *passim* The real external tendency of Zarathuštra's reform is incidentally to be recognised in the saying which makes agriculture the *conditio sine qua non* for a true Zoroastrian —"The non peasant, though he may desire it, will have no share in the good message", 31 10 Zarathuštra is acting upon the principle of sound economy in pedagogy, that energy and values of any kind are not heedlessly to be cast away

In view of the whole heartedness with which Zarathuštra had thrown himself into his arduous task, his attitude towards false teaching, heresy and apostasy, is easily to be guessed False teaching and heresy are Druj, Falsehood and Lie incarnate, in tendency and effects diametrically opposed to Aša (32 9, 11), for which Zarathuštra stands Consequently heresy and the heretic are an abomination in the eyes of the zealous prophet, 46 4 They chase away Ārmatay, esteemed by the "understanding one", 34 9, changing the sure reward for the good mind of the Aša follower into suffering, 34 7. Their danger is so great because even "wise" people are led astray and lured into apostasy by the specious appearance of falsehood, Y. 32 10 Zarathuštra may have spoken from experience when in 34 8 he said that heresy is a danger for many, and we may believe him when in the same place he affirms that false

teaching is a source of fear for him. The precautionary measure of cutting the faithful off from the Druj follower is recommended in 47. 4; anger is there said to be the right frame of mind towards the adherents of Druj; in 45. 11 he holds the Daēvas and infidels up as an object of contempt to him to whom the holy Daēna of the helper, the commanding lord, is to be friend, brother or father. Compare also 47. 4; 49. 3, 9. From 45. 11 it becomes clear also that not only the positive and hostile infidel but the indifferent Zoroastrian too incurs the displeasure of the prophet. The help of the secular power, and that armed, is called in by Zarathuštra against the spiritual adversaries in YY. 31. 18; 53. 8. The apostate naturally fares in no way better than the infidel or heretic.

The pedagogical data which may be gleaned from the Gāthās are the more important, the less explicit and intended they are. A fairly complete system of pedagogy could be built out of the material offered here. Two things will become clear even from the most cursory glance at the task Zarathuštra had to do, and the method he employed. First, education had then, as it has now, as its main duty to mend the damage done to human nature by some one and at some time, reducing it from the perfect state, in which it had been before, to the condition of an invalid whose natural powers have been impaired. The defects are intellectual and moral, residing in the mind and the will. From there the harm extended to the body, where the injury done to us becomes more palpable than in the soul. All these wounds Zarathuštra meant to heal, those of the mind by the true doctrine, by a virtuous life those of the will, and those of the body by a reformed economical system.

Second, the pedagogical fragments of the Gāthās prove that the method employed by Zarathuštra was perhaps less technical than that of the highly developed and organised modern educational systems, but that the means applied to gain the desired end were natural, well chosen and—as far as one may expect in this matter—effective. They, in the teacher's opinion, were apt to restore the ideal, destroyed in man by the hostile forces he had come to combat, and lost by the heedless follower of the Druj. For Zarathuštra Aša, Righteousness personified, was the path to lead man to the eternal Wisdom, represented by Ahura Mazdāh. The material happiness was to be brought about by the economic system which the prophet advocated. Thus the process of the restoration of man was inaugurated, a process which is to affect the individual and the community alike. It might be interesting to compare the results Zarathuštra achieved by means of his " elementary method " with those of some of the much vaunted modern systems with their " advanced methods."

LAW IN ANCIENT IRAN.

By Jamshed C Tarapore M A, LL B

The systems of laws prevailing in different countries vary in accordance with the moral social and religious life of the people The study of a nation's laws can very well furnish us with the customs in vogue at a particular period in that nation's history Ancient history further reveals to us that justice administered in primitive society was nothing better than the decision of the elders laying down rules of conduct for the others to follow, a breach of such rules being punished It is only when a society emerges from the primitive stage and when the people begin to live in larger groups of villages towns and countries that regular courts of law come into existence, and different judges and other officers are appointed to administer justice People in course of time then find it necessary to promulgate laws and rules of procedure and evidence in order that the administration of justice may be similar in all the courts in the country

The laws at present prevailing in different countries of Europe are mostly based on the works of the great Roman jurists who early saw the advantages of codifying their laws A large number of the works of these ancient jurists is still extant and they help us in getting a good idea of the different social and religious institutions in vogue among the ancient Romans It is our misfortune that we do not possess the works on law written by the ancient Iranians in their entirety to give us similar information regarding the people of a country that saw the birth and fall of so many ancient civilizations While the Code of Justinian giving the collection of all legal information then available and useful can still be studied and admired by lovers of ancient law and history, we are only favoured with a summary of the voluminous legal literature of the ancient Persians which was at one time collected in what were called the Dâtic Nasks

It is significant to note here that the law books which comprised these Dâtic Nasks were all composed and written long before the Achæmenian period in the history of Persia and are thus much older than most of the books we now possess from the lawgivers of ancient Greece or Rome The Nasks were originally written in Avesta and subsequently, like all other Avesta works they were translated into Pahlavi It is our misfortune that both the Avesta text and its Pahlavi translation of all the Dâtic Nasks with the only exception of the Vendidâd

have not survived the ravages of time and the vicissitudes which the people of Iran were subjected to in later times at the hands of their foreign conquerors. But for the labours taken by the compilers of the voluminous Pahlavi work, the Dînkard, we could have no idea of the scope and extent of these law books of ancient Iran.

The Dînkard Books VIII. and IX. are devoted to the contents of the twenty-one Nasks in which the original Avesta books were divided. Here we are concerned with the seven Nasks which are included in the Dâtic group, *viz.*, the Nikâdûm, the Dûbâsrûjîd, the Hûspâram, the Sakâdûm, the Vîd-shaêdâ-Dâta, the Chitra-dâta, and lastly the Bagân-yasht. Fortunately for us the contents of most of the Dâtic Nasks have been given in details unlike those of the Nasks of the other two groups, the Gâthic and the Hadha-Mâthric. The compiler in his Pahlavi introduction lays down a plan for the grand work he had in mind. He wanted, in Dînkard Book VIII., to give a short summary of each Nask, and then give fuller details dealing with each section of the Nask in Dînkard Book IX. and subsequent works. But, somehow, this plan has not been strictly followed. Till we come to Chapter XIV. of Book VIII. each Nask is only briefly summarised. These chapters include those devoted to two of the Dâtic Nasks, *viz.*, the Chitra-dâta and the Bagân-yasht. These two Nasks are not so important for a student of legal institutions among the people of ancient Iran, and we have not lost much by the author omitting to give the contents in details as he did with regard to the other Nasks in the group. While passing on to these more interesting Nasks it might be mentioned here that the Chitra-dâta Nask is more important to a student of ancient Persian history as it traces the descent of various races of mankind, and incidentally narrates the exploits of the great rulers of ancient Persia, up to the end of the Kayânîan dynasty. The Bagân-yasht was devoted to a description of the good spirits and how they were to be adored. Beginning with Chapter XV. of Book VIII. twenty-nine interesting chapters are devoted to the contents of the remaining five Dâtic Nasks, each section of each Nask being described separately and faithfully.

A study of the contents of these Dâtic Nasks reveals to us the fact that these law books were not compiled like the codes in Greece or Rome, and we should not believe that they had any authority of the legislature behind them like the Acts passed by a Parliament or sovereign authority. These books contained a collection of legal principles on which justice was administered in the country. In some chapters we even find subjects treated which had very little to do with law, but were, it appears, included in the Dâtic Nasks as principles of morals or

religion which the people ought to observe. Each violation of the divine law as revealed by Zarathushtra was then regarded a crime against society and punished accordingly. A study of different systems of law in different countries will also show that religion has played an important part in the legal institutions of the people, often greater sanctity being assigned to the laws believed to have been revealed by God than those promulgated by a sovereign however powerful he might be. It is not hence surprising that we should find in the Dātic Nasks passages dealing wholly with the religious observances of the ancient Iranians.

Again in our search for legal lore in the pages of these Nasks we should not expect to get laws on each subject treated separately in separate Nasks or their sections. The compilers of the Nasks have not arranged (though they have attempted to do so in certain chapters), the materials in their hands as we would expect a lawgiver or a jurist to do. If now to study the law relating to one subject we have to go through all the Nasks and collect the material from different chapters wherever we find the subject treated. For example the law relating to assault is scattered over several chapters in each treated from a different point of view. Keeping these difficulties in view an attempt is here made to examine the legal system of the ancient Iranians as we find it summarised in Dinkard Book VIII.

Let us now study this system of laws in ancient Persia as described in the Dātic Nasks.*

COURTS OF LAW.—The courts of law in ancient Iran were presided over by judges and magistrates who were invested with different powers according to qualifications and experience.[1] There were also supreme Courts to supervise the work and hear appeals from the decisions of lower Courts.[2] Benches consisting of two or more judges are also referred to, and principles were laid down regarding their judgments, whether they concurred or differed in their opinions.[3] A judicial officer was expected to know the Avesta thoroughly and especially the Dātic Nasks which would give him the knowledge of law which he required.[4] It is interesting to note that even women and minors were qualified for the post of a judge if they were conversant with the law.[5] Litigation, however, was not encouraged, and a high priest was to advise his pupils not to go to Court or to appeal from the decisions of the judges. The head priest (*môbadân-môbad*) was expected to know the law

* The references in the footnotes are to Chapters of Dinkard Book VIII.
1 Ch XXI, 12; Ch XLII, 9. 2 Ch XIX, 72. 3 Ch XXI, 13.
4 Ch XIX, 69; Ch XIX, 103. 5 Ch XXI, 21.
6 Ch XIX, 36.

thoroughly, and when he acted as the judge the litigants were not allowed to cite law but were to be satisfied with his decision.[1] Appealable and non-appealable judgments were also classified.[2]

PROCEDURE AND EVIDENCE.—For the purposes of a trial cases were broadly divided into two classes, *viz.* (1) "wherein unity subsists," and (2) "wherein unity does not subsist," *i.e.*, non-contested and contested cases respectively.[3] Evidence was to be led in accordance with the class to which each case belonged. The value of different types of evidence was studied and determined: "The statements of litigants (shall be) of two kinds, verbal and demonstrable."[4] Again verbal statements made to different persons and officers had different evidentiary value.[5] A legal proceeding required three witnesses, but greater confidence was placed on expert evidence.[6] Cases were instituted by a complaint or a plaint,[7] which could be oral or written. Pleaders were allowed to act on behalf of parties.[8] Arbitration was also recognized as an institution for settling disputes, and rules were laid down as to when a person was to be appointed to intercede between the parties to a dispute and how far.[9] The authority of all judicial officers was similarly defined. The extent of punishment to be inflicted on offenders was laid down by law.[10]

It may not be out of place here to notice one form of trial which was resorted to in ancient Iran as in many other countries, namely, trial by ordeal. According to the Dînkard Book VII., (Chapter IV., §§ 3-4), there were thirty-three kinds of ordeals. Out of these ordeals those that are commonly mentioned in the Dînkard and other Pahlavi works are the *baresma* ordeal, the heat ordeal and the water ordeal.[11] So much importance was attached to this form of trial that one whole section of the Hûspâram Nask was devoted to describing the rituals connected with accomplishing an ordeal.[12] It should be noted here that the Iranians of those times resorted to natural elements for proving the guilt or innocence of a man, unlike the Europeans of feudal times who often tried to prove the justice of a cause by the result of a combat between two champions, who would sometimes even use unfair means and tactics to win the fight. There was no scope for such tactics when natural elements like heat and cold were used. We all know of the historic incident of the ordeal undergone by Dasturân-Dastur Atarô-pâta Mahras-spendân, the high-priest of the time of Shahpûhr II., who

---

1 Ch. XIX., 5. 2 Ch. XIX., 71.
3 Ch. XV., 5. 4 *Ibid.* 5 Ch. XIV., 6. 6 Ch. XIX., 60.
7 Ch. XIV., 10; Ch. XVIII., 24. 8 Ch. XVIII., 24. 9 Ch. XVIII., 25.
10 Ch. XIX., 46. 11 Ch. XVIII., 38; Ch. XIX., 12 and *seq.*
12 Ch. XXXI., 1; Ch. XLI., 3, 4.

with success allowed molten brass to be poured on his chest, and came out unscathed out of this heat-ordeal

Postponements were not unknown during the hearing of a case Twenty two postponements in legal proceedings have been mentioned in connection with delays in justice[1] Justice again required costs, and there was no progress when one of the litigants was poor[2]

After a plaint was presented in court the defendant was summoned to appear and some time was allowed to him for making his defence[3] If the defendant did not appear orders must have been passed *ex parte* Sometimes the defendant appeared but did not conduct the case, that is, he admitted the claim[4] In each case time was allowed for addressing the Court[5] Time was also fixed for giving judgment, for summoning witnesses, and for conducting the legal proceedings[6]

THE LAW OF CRIMES.—There were different magisterial inquiries for different offences perhaps in accordance with the serious nature of the offence or otherwise[7] There were certain offences committed by persons who defied the law and who were hence treated almost as out laws, for which there was no magisterial inquiry and one was justified in killing such persons[8] The right of self-defence was recognised and principles laid down for a counter assault which could be excused[9]

The law of assault and hurt was treated with great exactitude All the symptoms arising from assaults such as pain, bleeding, and unconsciousness were considered during the trial[10] The weapons used in assaults and the kind of blows given were also taken into account[11] Assault with a knife resulting in incised wounds of different description was regarded more serious[12] For the purpose of meting out proper punishment to assailants the limbs of the human body were divided into various classes[13] Grievous hurt resulting from assault was defined,[14] and it is interesting to note that many of the instances given in the Nikâdûm Nask resemble so much those included in the definition of grievous hurt as given in our Indian Penal Code The sentence in the Nask is as follows —

> This, too, that when any one by an assault produces unto some one fright, ... or he entirely lessens the speech, and the vision (and) hearing, or wisdom, and strength, and semen, and milk, and pregnancy, (or) when he destroys the spleen or milk of females, or in revenge murders (his) son, (or) when one would cause wounds upon wounds, (and) blood flows in a large quantity therefrom

1 Ch XIX, 53 2 Ch XIX, 133 3 Ch XVIII, 47, Ch XIX 11
4 Ch XIX, 11 5 *Ibid* 6 Ch XXI, 15 7 Ch XV, 10 and *seq*
8 Ch XV, 14, 15, 16 9 Ch. XV, 18 10 Ch XVI, 1 and *seq*
11 Ch XVI, 4, 5, 12 Ch XVII, 1 13 Ch XVII, 3 14 Ch XVII, 4, 5, 6

With this description may be compared section 320 of the Indian Penal Code which runs as follows :—

" The following kinds of hurt only are designated as 'grievous' :—

First.—Emasculation.

Secondly.—Permanent privation of the sight of either eye.

Thirdly.—Permanent privation of the hearing of either ear.

Fourthly.—Privation of any member or joint.

Fifthly.—Destruction or permanent impairing of the powers of any member or joint.

Sixthly.—Permanent disfiguration of the head or face.

Seventhly.—Fracture or dislocation of a bone or tooth.

Eighthly.—Any hurt which endangers life or which causes the sufferer to be, during the space of twenty days, in severe bodily pain, or unable to follow his ordinary pursuits."

The penalty of death was inflicted for several offences which were called *margarjân* sins, sins which made the culprit worthy of death. Murder and even wounding in certain cases led a man to be declared *margarjân*.[1] A *margarjân* was to be avoided,[2] and persons were appointed for keeping such men in custody.[3] Rules were again laid down as to the way in which a *margarjân* was to be put to death.[4]

Offences against morals were considered among the more serious and heinous ones. A woman who led the immoral life of a courtesan was regarded with horror. Sinfulness, trouble, grief and calamity were believed to proceed from her, and she was regarded worthy of being destroyed.[5] But the most heinous of all crimes a man was considered capable of committing was sodomy, the sin of unnatural intercourse. Such an intercourse rendered the culprits impure for ever and ever, and the writers of the Avesta texts used the strongest words at their command to denounce this sin.[6] The passages dealing with this sin which we find in Vendîdâd VIII. are themselves sufficient to show the great abhorrence with which this evil practice was looked at by the ancient Iranians.[7]

The offence of theft was made punishable with imprisonment or hard labour.[8] A thief could be arrested and handed over to the authorities. Rules were prescribed for the shackles to be put on a thief,[9]

1 Ch. XIX., 6. 2 Ch XVIII, 59. 3 Ch. XVIII., 62.
4 Ch. XVIII., 62-65. 5 Ch. XLIII., 72. 6 Ch. XXXIV., 13.
7 Vendîdâd VIII., 26-27, 31—32. 8 Ch. XX., 1. 9 Ch. XX., 2, 3.

as well as for the dimensions of the place of imprisonment[1] Hard labour was not imposed on all thieves[2] A thief was also branded in certain cases[3] The offence was considered to be aggravated if while committing the offence a thief caused injury to the person of the owner of the stolen property or any other individual[4] An accomplice of a thief was also dealt with[5] He may either take part in the theft or may merely suggest it[6] Some consideration was shown if it was found that the offence of theft was committed by a minor or by a childless or pregnant woman[7] The stolen property if found was restored to its owner[8] A man who harboured a thief also became guilty of an offence[9] Highway robbery was an offence common in the days when these law books were written and even when one came across robbers plotting for the destruction of a good man prompt action was to be taken[10]

After an offender was arrested an attempt was made to get his confession A confession thus made was to be considered with care by the court Confessions were for this purpose classified and their values determined[11] Confessing his own crime was regarded to be the only atonement for a thief[12] Even after a confession the court was bound to cross examine the accused as to the truth of the confession[13]

The importance of pastoral life among the ancient Iranians is shown not only by the rules laid down for the care and protection of cattle[14] but also by the careful way in which punishments were prescribed for the theft of different kinds of cattle[15] Penalty was inflicted on persons who helped a thief in stealing cattle[16]

False accusations were not unknown in those primitive days The offence of falsely charging another person was dealt with in accordance with the nature of the false charge levied by the accuser[17] Among the charges so enumerated we find included sorcery uttering incantations and frightful appearances We should not be surprised at finding these offences in the penal law of those times when we know that people were severely punished and even burnt alive at the stake for similar offences in the Europe of the fifteenth and even sixteenth century It was for just such an offence that Joan of Arc was burnt by the English at Rouen in 1431 Legal proceedings were instituted in ancient Iran against a person charged with being a wizard[18] In certain cases he could be

[1] Ch XX 1 [2] Ch XX 4 [3] Ch XX 5 [4] Ch XX 6
[5] Ch XX 7 [6] Ch XX 8 [7] Ch XX 8 [8] Ch XX 13
[9] Ch XX 14 [10] Ch XIX 2 [11] Ch XVIII 48 49
[12] Ch XIX 1?4 [13] Ch XIX 131 [14] Ch XXII [15] Ch XIX 46 and seq
[16] Ch XIX 49 [17] Ch XVIII 1 [18] Ch XLI 1

dealt with even without a trial.[1] Trial by ordeal was resorted to in all doubtful cases of witchcraft and the "clandestine perpetration of sin."[2]

As we noted in various passages above the punishments awarded consisted of death, imprisonment, branding, or of bodily chastisement. In the latter class may be mentioned flogging which is most commonly referred to in the Vendîdâd, the number of stripes varying from five to ten thousand according to the gravity of the offence. While awarding punishment the judge or the magistrate had to take into consideration not only the nature of the offence committed but other circumstances of the case which might go to increase or reduce the punishment, such as the circumstances under which the crime was committed and the past character of the offender. Herodotus noted this feature of justice administered in ancient Iran in these words : "The king shall not put any one to death for a single fault, and that none of the Persians shall visit a single fault in a slave with any extreme penalty ; but in every case the service of the offender shall be set against his misdoing ; and if the latter be found to outweigh the former, the aggrieved party shall then proceed to punishment."[3]

MUNICIPAL LAW.—The ancient Iranians were perhaps the first people to early learn the importance of sanitation and health in civic life. We have only to turn to the code of sanitation we find in the Vendîdâd, or Vîd-shaêdâ-Dâta as the Nask was known, which has come down to us fortunately almost in its entirety, to realise how practical and far-sighted the people who brought such a code into being must be.[4] We can very easily trace the germs of our municipal laws in the pages of the Vendîdâd. Several long chapters or *fargards* of the Vendîdâd have been devoted to the method of the disposal of the dead. Great care was to be taken to avoid persons and things coming in contact with the dead, as it was well understood that such contact would lead to the spread of the disease which was the cause of death. Things which were thus defiled were either destroyed or cleansed according to the methods prescribed. Fire and water were to be protected from pollution by dead matter. It was considered a heinous sin to carry dead matter to fire or water. Other rules were also laid down for the preservation of health. A physician held a place of honour in society. The scale of his fees was liberal. He could effect a cure in any of the several prescribed ways. It was further discovered that plants having poisonous effects possessed medicinal properties, for healing physical disorders.[5] A house wherein

---

1 Ch. XLI., 2. 2 Ch. XLI., 3. 3 Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I., p. 278.
4 Chapter XLIII. 5 Ch. XLIII., 80.

a man was laid up or died through some contagious illness was not allow ed to be used for some time, and the clothings were also regarded unfit for wear [1]

LAW OF PROPERTY —When we find the right to property recognised in a primitive society we can definitely state of such a society that it must have emerged from the nomadic life led by most of the races of mankind in ancient times during which a man appropriated to himself whatever he could lay his hands on and enjoy the user thereof so long as he was able to maintain the physical possession with himself At this stage possession was the only right It is at a later stage when the people make their permanent homes and begin to live a settled life that ownership is recognised and laws are made to maintain it The punish ments laid down for theft and plunder in the various Dâtic Nasks well show that the right of ownership was recognised among the ancient Iranians long before the times when these books were written In this connection we might note that the principal wealth these people pos sessed consisted of their sheep and cattle, and hence we find elaborate laws enunciated for the protection, preservation, propagation and slaugh tering of cattle Great care was taken in selecting the pasûsh haûrva, the dog who was to perform the task of guarding the sheepfold [2] Owner ship in pasture grounds was also recognised, and a man was not allowed to let his sheep go on another man's land for grazing [3] Corn and fodder belonging to others was also to be preserved in the same way [4] Our laws for the prevention of cruelty to animals have grown up only in modern times It is hence surprising to come across laws laid down in the Dûbâsrûjid Nask for the unlawfully beating and wounding cattle and beasts of burden [5]

The value of animate and inanimate property and of small eatables was determined, and a judge was to know them before he passed a decree in a case [6]

When a dispute as to property arose evidence of witnesses was re corded to prove possession thereof [7] The judge had also to see that the possession was proper In the event of there being three claimants for a thing sometimes it was allowed to be used by each of the three by turns [8] A person could hold a thing in trust for another [9] Property was sometimes possessed by a person who could not produce any evidence to prove his ownership [10] A man who saw his property being given away to another in his presence was to raise a dispute imme diately [11] Apart from the question of possession disputes as to the

[1] Ch. XXIX 9 10 [2] Ch. XXII 1 and seq [3] Ch XXII 9 [4] Ch XXII 10
[5] Ch XXIII and seq [6] Ch XXIV 1 2 [7] Ch XIX 20 [8] Ch XIX, 22
[9] Ch. XIX, 25 [10] Ch XIX, 32 [11] Ch XIX, 35

ownership of property in a wife, cattle, or trees were also heard.[1] When the owner of a thing established his rights against those who wrongfully snatched it away from him, they were deprived of the property which was restored to the owner.[2] Property could also be held jointly by two or more persons, and often litigation arose between them to determine their rights.[3]

Property could be transferred by sale, by gift, or by pledge. A man could not sell property which did not belong to him.[4] Care was taken in examining the samples of various things used for arriving at a contract of sale.[5] Such contracts must be reduced to writing, and a man was required to atone for the sin he committed by selling anything by "the word of mouth."[6] When a man sold a sheep, a cattle or a beast of burden which had a defect he was bound to disclose it.[7] But if the defect was not apparent the owner could sell it as free from defect.[8] A defective animal was required to be marked.[9] Different kinds of gifts were defined and classified.[10] There were only some kind of properties which could be given away as gifts to the pious.[11] When a thing was given away as a gift, it became the sole property of the donee.[12] When moneys were borrowed on a pledge, security was taken before the loan was made.[13]

When a dispute as to property was referred to a judge he must decide to whom the property should be delivered, and a man was not to keep property which did not belong to him.[14] Property of such a nature was seized and kept in the custody of the court before the litigation was decided.[15] Rules were further enacted for the protection of property seized in this way, especially when it consisted of animals.[16] The fee of the sentinel who kept guard over the seized property was prescribed, and an order must be made by the court for the payment thereof.[17] When the animal seized had an offspring it was to be kept with the mother and allowed to be nourished by her.[18] Time was fixed for shearing the wool of a sheep that was seized.[19] The sheep was to be fed in the most open place.[20] A sentinel appointed to guard a seized sheep was not allowed to appropriate it to himself, nor could he unlawfully beat or wound the animal.[21] Difficulties were often experienced in identifying the sheep that was to be seized when it was mingled in somebody's flock.[22] A sheep that was seized was allowed to be slaughtered for food in certain cases.[23]

---

1 Ch. XIX., 59. 2 Ch. XIX., 77. 3 Ch. XIX., 79.
4 Ch. XIX., 23; Ch. XXIX, 5 15. Ch. XXIX., 6. 6 Ch. XXIX., 8.
7 Ch. XXIX., 8a. 8 Ch. XIX., 70. 9 Ch. XIX., 70. 10 Ch. XIX., 106.
11 Ch. XIX., 107. 12 Ch. XIX., 108. 13 Ch. XIX., 30. 14 Ch. XXI., 24.
15 Ch. XXXVIII., 1. 16 Ch. XXXVIII., 2. 17 Ch. XXXVIII., 3.
18 Ch. XXXVIII., 4. 19 Ch. XXXVIII, 7. 20 Ch. XXXVIII., 9.
21 Ch. XXXVIII., 10. 22 Ch. XXXVIII., 12. 23 Ch. XXXVIII., 13.

in the two systems of laws in the position of the mother well illustrates the high place a woman was given in ancient Iranian society. She was the religious guardian of her daughters[1] and her voice in giving away her daughter in marriage was paramount. In India on the other hand among the Hindus she is placed after all the paternal male relations chiefly because the act of giving away a bride in marriage, called *kanyadana*, had become a religious ceremony which could be only performed by a male member of the family, and even when in default of paternal male relations the mother made the gift, she had to employ some male member to perform the ceremony.

After the marriage a maiden was given away to the husband and her dowry was also given at the same time.[2] The property so given was regarded to be her property, and she was to be provided for if the same got exhausted.[3] It was a meritorious act on the part of the husband to give pious gifts to his wife.[4]

A woman who held the position of a *shâh-zan* enjoyed the best privileges as a wife in her husband's house, but she was also bound to be obedient to her spouse.[5] If she failed in the performance of her duties as a wife she was admonished, and even punished if she quarrelled with her husband.[6] A man who was thus annoyed by his wife who held such privileged position had to file a plaint in court in the prescribed form.[7] On the other hand the wife, too, could get her husband imprisoned if she apprehended injury to her person.[8] A wife holding a privileged position could legally conduct her husband's case in court.[9]

Marriages with non-Iranians were not encouraged, though they were not prohibited. In certain cases an Iranian was allowed to solicit the hand of a woman from the non-Iranians.[10] But otherwise a woman who had illicit intercourse with a non-Iranian was punished, just like a man who was found having sexual intercourse immorally with a woman.[11] A girl could not be given in marriage to a non-Iranian unless he was also a Mazdayasnian.[12]

In Dînkard Book VIII. there is practically no reference to divorce, either by consent of parties or through a court of law. The marriage tie must have been regarded to be so sacred that it could not be dissolved under any circumstances. Otherwise we could have found elaborate rules and conditions laid down for divorcing a wife. But it appears that a man could marry more than one wife, though only one could hold the position of a *shâh-zan*, a privileged wife. A married woman again

[1] Ch. XLII., 10. [2] Ch. XXXIII., 2. [3] Ch. XXXIII., 3. [4] Ch. XXXIII., 6. [5] Ch. XXX., 5-6. [6] Ch. XXX., 6. [7] Ch. XIX., 87. [8] Ch. XIX., 88. [9] Ch. XIX., 11*a*. [10] Ch. XXX., 8. [11] Ch. XXX., 7. [12] Ch. XIX., 97.

could not contract another marriage during the lifetime of her husband Once when a woman was given to a man by mutual consent she could not be given to another Such an act was regarded to be deceitful [1] A wife was to be maintained according to a certain standard perhaps determined in each case from the mode of life of the husband [2] The income of a minor wife was also disposed of by law [3]

LAW OF GUARDIANSHIP AND MINORS —Parents were the natural guardians of their children Begetting an offspring was a sacred duty enjoined by religion,[4] and parents had to observe certain formalities before and after the birth of a child [5] A mother desired to attain the acme of a beautiful body in her child [6] A new born child was supposed to possess spiritual vision till it attained worldly knowledge [7]

The age of responsibility for offences began at the age of seven or eight years, and for determining the guilty knowledge of the minor inquiry was made if it was educated or not If a murder was committed by an uneducated minor of the age of seven or eight years in the presence of the parents, the latter were held responsible for the crime [8] It may be noted here that under section 82 of the Indian Penal Code also " nothing is an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age " It was the duty of parents to keep away their children from committing offences Again when a minor was convicted the punishment awarded must not have been heavy as the extent was separately fixed by law [9]

The guardian father was bound to begin the education of his child at a particular age, otherwise he was regarded sinful Even during its minority a child could atone for the sins committed under certain conditions [1]

The religious guardianship of a daughter even during the lifetime of her father was with the mother, and she could give away her daughter in marriage, but the father could not do so without her consent [11] In the absence of the parents the function devolved on the brothers of the girl,[12] and in their absence provision was made to appoint guardians who could give her away to her husband at the time of marriage [13] In certain cases even a son was placed under the guardianship of his mother during the lifetime of his father [14]

---

1 Ch XIX, 126 2 Ch XXXV 12 3 Ch XXXV, 9 4 Ch. XXXIV, 1
5 Ch XXIV, 2 and seq 6 Ch. XXIV, 12 7 Ch XXIV, 11
8 Ch. XVI, 10 9 Ch XVIII, 28 10 Ch XXI., 2 11 Ch. XLII, 10
12 Ch XLII, 11 13 Ch XIX 89 14 Ch XLII, 18

Law of Succession.—When right to property is recognised in a society it always becomes necessary to frame laws for its disposal after the death of the owner. These laws of succession differ among different people according as the right possessed by the owner during his lifetime was regarded absolute or limited. The Hindu law of property and succession supplies us with the example of a system of laws in which the right is limited. The Hindu law attempts to perpetuate the property in the family, and hence each member of the family though he enjoyed his share of the property during his lifetime could not dispose of the same after his death as he desired, but it went to his heirs according to certain fixed rules of succession. The laws of other peoples give powers more or less absolute to the owner to dispose of his property in any way he liked either during his lifetime or after his death.

In ancient Iran also a man was regarded as the absolute owner of his property and he could dispose of his property in any way he liked, either by gift *inter vivos* or by will after his death. The father had the right to give away his property to his children according to his wish. If a son did not pay proper respect towards his father he was excluded from inheriting his father's estate at the time when the same was divided among the children.[1] A will could be made regarding all the property left by a testator at the time of his death.[2] An adopted son was also an heir to the property of his adoptive father. It was considered wrong on the part of such a son to renounce the adoption.[3] In the absence of children and other near relations the property could also be inherited by the next-of-kins of the deceased.[4] Provision was again made by law for the distribution of residuary property after the claims of heirs and legatees were satisfied.[5] In assigning such property in charity regard was had to the known ideas of the owner. A will was not always required to be reduced to writing. Private statements of a man made while passing away about bequeathing his property were also given effect to.[6] Laws were promulgated for governing the succession to the property of a person who died intestate, without making a will. If a priest holding property went out of the country for his priestly vocation and died there his property was to be given to persons according to law.[7] Property was sometimes left in trust for the commemoration of the good spirits, and it was regarded to be a heavy sin to squander such a property.[8] When a hero was killed on the battlefield his estate was distributed in accordance with a prescribed mode.[9] Children and those who received a legacy from a deceased person were held liable to

1 Ch. XLII., 13. 2 Ch. XLII., 12. 3 Ch. XLII., 14. 4 Ch. XXXV., 15.
5 Ch. XLII., 15-16. 6 Ch. XVIII., 30. 7 Ch. XIX., 44. 8 Ch. XIX., 140.
9 Ch. XX., 3

War was regarded as an evil. As if to counteract this evil *yazishna* ritual was performed on the day of battle, *baresma* being used in the ritual. The Avesta was recited before the first arrow was shot, and water found nearest to the place of battle was also consecrated. Rules were again laid down about the weapons to be used at the different stages of the battle.[1]

Besides the soldiers engaged in the actual battle, other units were always kept in the army. Men were kept for providing weapons to the soldiers and taking them back after the fight was over.[2] Again medical aid was provided in the army, the wounded and the weak being attended to on the spot. After the battle hot bath was given to each soldier, and the relaxation of the body was regarded necessary. Thanksgiving offerings were also made for the victory achieved. The arms and ammunitions were then taken back and consigned to the arsenal. Veterinary surgeons accompanied the army to attend to the horses,[3] and the supply corps had to make provisions for both men and horses.[4] The commander of an army had to select the daily food for the warriors under his charge, as well as the beasts of burden, clothings, horses and other equipments.[5] A cavalry soldier received special training before he went to fight.[6] Warriors were bound to obey their commander. They were not to fear death, but resign their body deliberately and be sure of the spiritual reward in heaven.[7] A spy was required to be stopped from giving information to the enemy, and hence a man was not held guilty of any offence if he caused hurt to a spy during his act of removing the spy.[8]

The hostages and captives taken in battle from the non-Iranians were carried into the country and distributed.[9] When the non-Iranians demanded hostages they were given out of the people living on the frontier.[10] Ransom was demanded and given. It could consist of any valuable article, which could be seized by the Iranians. In place of ransom a handsome youth from the non-Iranians could be also seized as a hostage. Rules were also enunciated about the keeping of hostages.[11] When once ransom was given it was regarded to be a serious crime if it was extorted again.[12]

MISCELLANEOUS LAWS.—Slavery was recognised and allowed in ancient Iran. A slave was regarded to be a chattel and bought and sold like beasts of burden, sheep or any other property.[13] A female slave

---

1 Ch. XXV., 24. 2 Ch. XXV., 25-27. 3 Ch. XXV., 11.
4 Ch. XXV., 12. 5 Ch. XXV., 2. 6 Ch. XXV., 3. 7 Ch. XXV., 14.
8 Ch. XXXVII., 24. 9 Ch. XXV., 25-27. 10 Ch. XIX., 118.
11 Ch. XIX., 119. 12 Ch. XIX., 120. 13 Ch. XXIX., 7.

then a non-Iranian physician was allowed to attend to the sick, and he was to be paid on a different scale also prescribed by law.[1]

An act which is allowed by law can become unlawful if not performed properly. One of the sections of the Sagâtûm Nask was devoted to laying down principles for doing various acts in a man's life lawfully.[2] In this section we find different subjects treated, such as the care of a new-born babe,[3] the preservation of the *zaŏsra* and *varesa*, (the consecrated water and consecrated hair of the white bull),[4] arrangement of bed-places,[5] care of a weapon,[6] erecting a gate,[7] washing the head and trimming and shaving the hair,[8] place and extent of a horse-course,[9] making a *kusti* and tying it,[10] carrying firewood from the mountain to the house and examining it before taking it to the fire,[11] warming the *gaômaêza* by the fire,[12] collecting pasture,[13] erecting a forest-house,[14] marking boundaries,[15] cutting small and huge trees,[16] washing clothes,[17] inspection of canals, [18] and similar other subjects.

Lastly we should note the high regard paid by the ancient Iranians to truth in all judicial proceedings. A contract once formed was binding, and a man who broke his word failed to command respect. *Mithra* was the deity supervising all such contracts and his ire was dreaded more than anything else. Similarly when a man appeared before a judge he was to give true answers and be helpful in the proceedings of the court.[19] Judges were also admonished to give true and just decisions, and punished for false decisions. Judges had to give a hard reckoning in the next world. By their just decisions the good spirit were propitiated and the demons received affliction.[20]

---

1 Ch. XXXVI., 26-28. 2 See Ch. XXXVII. 3 Ch. XXXVII., 6-8.
4 Ch. XXXVII., 9-10. 5 Ch. XXXVII., 11. 6 Ch. XXXVII., 14.
7 Ch. XXXVII., 16. 8 Ch. XXXVII., 17-20. 9 Ch. XXXVII., 23.
10 Ch. XXXVII., 25-26. 11 Ch. XXXVII., 32. 12 Ch. XXXVII., 33,
13 Ch. XXXVII., 34. 14 Ch. XXXVII, 35., 15 Ch. XXXVII., 38.
16 Ch. XXXVII., 40. 17 Ch. XXXVII., 41. 18 Ch. XXXVII., 41-51.
19 Ch. XXX., 28. 20 Ch. XXX., 29.

AHURA MAZDA'S FRAVASHI,

By Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, Ph D

The perfect prototypes of all animate and inanimate objects and all heavenly and earthly beings are called Fravashis. Even Ahura Mazda, we are informed, has his Fravashi (Ys 23 2, Yt 13 80) The Fravashi that accompanies man throughout his life upon earth regulates his life and guides his soul to realize his individual Fravashi ideal On the bodily death of a righteous person his soul attains to its Fravashi that is, it realizes the ideal of perfection If the duty of the Fravashi of a man who is by nature imperfect is to act as his guardian spirit and guide him to perfection, what function does the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda perform in his case? Is there any incompleteness or imperfection left in Ahura Mazda that he has to shake off and strive, like all created beings, to reach his own Fravashi? We shall endeavour to answer these questions in the following lines

Ahura Mazda, the supreme God, existed by himself from all eternity. As *Vahishta Manah* or Best Mind he had thought out and formulated the concept or idea of the best and the perfect world Heavenly and earthly existence, consequently, had always lived in potentiality as the contents of his Being This symbolized perfection of existence, this aggregate of entire good creation is Spenta Mainyu. I suggest to take Spenta Mainyu as Ahura Mazda's Fravashi, the perfect picture, ideal pattern of creation as conceived by Ahura Mazda.

As all thought consists of contraries, Angra Mainyu, the embodiment of imperfection, flourished from all time in Ahura Mazda as an inseparable accomplice of Spenta Mainyu Both Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu, therefore, are twins (Ys 30 3) As long as they lived in Ahura Mazda, they were undifferentiated Their contrary natures became visible with the beginning of creation Spenta Mainyu's light, life and goodness can be revealed only in connection with Angra Mâinyu's darkness death and evil Imperfection shadows perfection everywhere and in everything

The Fravashis or ideas of all beings are perfect, but their copies are imperfect. Perfection is not the gift of Ahura Mazda to man, it is the prize that man has to win by his effort and struggle. Every human being is imperfect The goal of everyone is his Fravashi or his personal realization of perfection

Just as it is with every unit in the sphere of creation, so it is with creation in its entirety. This world is imperfect. It has Spenta Mainyu for its goal, and it is evolving towards the ideal.

The Fravashi-ideal, we have seen, implies imperfection in the person to whom the Fravashi belongs. Man becomes perfect, we have said, when he has ascended the heights of perfection where his soul is united with his Fravashi. It is the same with the heavenly beings. Vohu Manah, though second only to Ahura M.zda in the scale of creation, has yet to realize his Fravashi and reach perfection. This is because he has yet to rout Aka Manah and clear the world of his evil thoughts. Asha Vahishta, likewise, will attain perfection only when his righteousness will finally triumph over the wickedness of Druj.

Ahura Mazda's world, in the same manner, has not yet reached that perfect state which he has thought out from the beginning. In co-operation with man, he is evolving a new world, a better world, a perfect world. Ahura Mazda will realize his Fravashi or Spenta Mainyu, when Angra Mainyu will perish with his imperfection and evil.

This brings us to the threshhold of the eternal problem of evil. Religions fail to explain evil, says Rudolf Eucken. John Stewart Mill approvingly quotes his father's statement that the explanation of the problem of evil given by Zoroaster has not yet been tried. The Iranian prophets' solution of the existence of imperfection and evil in the world has, it is true, not received the careful attention that it deserves. I propose, at some future date, to deal with it and its kindred subjects—such as the one we have discussed in these pages—in the form of a book.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF *AOGEMADAECHĀ*,*

By Bamanji Nusservanji Dhabhar M A

Dr Geiger had published the Pazend-Sanskrit text of the *Aogemadaecha* in 1878 A C and the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties got the Pazend text thereof published with other 'Pazend Texts' edited by Ervad E K Antia in 1909 A C The Pahlavi version of this treatise is undoubtedly a later composition and is done from the original Pazend It is as Dr West rightly observes 'a late specimen of Pahlavi' All available Mss collated give invariably the same imperfect version The orthography is not fixed and moreover words or phrases and even whole sentences have been left untranslated As no Pahlavi version of the *Aogemadaecha* is found in any Iranian manuscripts it may be safely surmised that this attempt at translating the original Pazend is the work of some learned Indian Dastur I have, in the following text made an attempt to restore all these smaller and larger gaps in the original Pahlavi The Pahlavi glosses to the text have been enclosed in parentheses, and the portions of the text omitted in the original Pahlavi and restored by me from the Pazend are put in square brackets

The following Mss have been examined —

(1) J 58 belonging to the Library of the late Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji This Ms was used by Darmesteter for his translation of the *Aogemadaecha* given in S B E Vol IV, and again in the 'Zend Avesta' III West refers to it in Grundriss der iran Phil Part II It was written in 1180 A Y by Dastur Edalji Darabji Jamaspji Asa As stated in its colophon it is descended from a Ms written in 1108 A Y (1739 A C) by Dastur Jamshedji Jamaspji Asa

(2) No 3 of the Catalogue of Avesta Pahlavi Pazend Mss of the Mulla Firoze Library This Ms bears no date

(3) No F 33 of Dastur Erachji S Meherji Rana s Collection in the Navsari Meherji Rana Library Herein, the portion of the *Aogemadaecha* was transcribed in 1245 A Y by Dastur Erachji from No 3 of the Mulla Firoze Library referred to above

(4) No. T 8 of the Navsari Meherji Rana Library. Th's was written in 1142 A.Y. by Ervad Behmanji Dastur Jamshedji Jamaspji Asa.

(5) No. T 15 of the Navsari Meherji Rana Library. This Ms., bearing no date, was presented from the Collection of Dastur Sorabji Framji Meherji Rana.

THE TEXT.

(1) [illegible] (2) [illegible]

(3) [illegible] (4) [illegible]

[illegible] (5) [illegible]

[illegible] (6)

[illegible] (7) [illegible]

[illegible]

(8) [illegible]

---

1 So all: a hybrid form of Pazand and Pahlavi; *cf.* [illegible] in [illegible] (: quite ignorant). 2 One Ms. [illegible] 3 Pâz. [illegible] (=Pah. [illegible]) and [illegible] (=Pah. [illegible]) are very often confounded. 4 All [illegible]—Pâz. [illegible] where the enclitic [illegible] is transcribed as [illegible] in all Mss. 5 All [illegible]—Pâz. [illegible] or [illegible] 6 All [illegible]-Pâz. [illegible] 7 All [illegible]. 8 All [illegible] for Pâz. [illegible] : [illegible] (=Pah. [illegible]) and [illegible] (=Pah. [illegible]) are confounded.

[illegible][1] [[illegible]][1] [illegible][2] [illegible]
[illegible] (9) [illegible] [[illegible]]
[illegible][3] [illegible][4] [illegible] ∴
(10) [illegible]
[illegible] (11) [illegible][5] [illegible]
[illegible] ∴

(12) [illegible][6] [illegible]
[illegible] (13) [illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible] (14)
[[illegible]][7]
[illegible][8]
[illegible][9] [illegible] ∴

(15) [illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] (16) [illegible][10] [illegible]

---

1 Pâz [illegible] (: Per [illegible] meeting, or encounter) is confounded with Pah [illegible] (*patirraftan*) whose Huz. synonym is [illegible] 2 All [illegible] (see note 3 on p 2) 3 Mss [illegible] or [illegible]—pâz [illegible] or [illegible] 4 Mss. [illegible] or [illegible] or [illegible] for Pâz [illegible] 5 Mss [illegible] for Pâz [illegible] [[illegible]]. In the Afrin-i Ardāfravash, this word is similarly mispronounced. 6 The Avesta quotation in the beginning of this sentence, viz, *Ushishtat Vohu Manō hacha* .... stands in all Mss thus :—

[illegible] ∴ [illegible] ......

Here [illegible] wrongly stands for. [illegible] (where [illegible] is rendered by [illegible] ; and [illegible] and the last syllable of [illegible] , *viz.*, ...*ast* are confounded). 7 Only the Pâzend of the clause in brackets is given in all Mss. 8 All [illegible] *for* Pâz. [illegible] 9 All [illegible] 10 All [illegible]

[illegible][1] ∴ (17) [illegible]
[illegible] ∴ (18)
[illegible]
[illegible] ∴ (19) [illegible][2]
[illegible][3] [illegible]
[illegible] ∴

(20) [illegible]
[illegible][4] [illegible]
[illegible][5] [illegible][6] [illegible]
[illegible] ∴

(21) [illegible]
[illegible][7] [illegible]
[illegible][8] [illegible][7] [illegible] (22) [illegible]
[illegible] [[illegible]][9] [illegible] ∴ [illegible]
[illegible][10] (23) [illegible]
([illegible]) [[illegible]] [illegible][11] [illegible]
[illegible][12] [illegible] ∴ (24) [illegible]

---

1 All [illegible] 2 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 3 All [illegible] 4 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 5 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 6 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 7 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 8 All [illegible] 9 Pâz.:— [[illegible]] [illegible] 10 All [illegible] (*dâd*) for Pâz. [illegible] or [illegible] (=Pah. [illegible]). Here [illegible] (the past tense of [illegible]) is confounded with Pâz. [illegible] or [illegible] which means, 'other,' 'secondly.' 11 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 12 Pâz. [illegible] should be [illegible]

[illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible]
[illegible] [4] [illegible] [5] :.

(25) [illegible]
[illegible] (26) [illegible]
[illegible] (27) [illegible]
[illegible] :.

(28) [illegible]
[illegible] [6] [illegible] [7] [illegible] [8] [illegible]
[illegible] [9] [illegible]
[illegible] [10] [illegible] [11] [illegible] :.

(29) [illegible]
(30) [illegible]
[illegible] [12] [illegible]

---

1 Pâz [illegible] 2 All [illegible] 3 All [illegible] (for Pâz. [illegible]) — 4 All [illegible] for Av [illegible] whose Pâz equivalent is wanting here The Pâz words [illegible] (meaning 'I') and [illegible] (which is the root of [illegible] meaning 'to think') are confounded 5 Mss [illegible] or [illegible] (for Pâz. [illegible]) Here [illegible] (*du*) is real [illegible] (kū=Pah [illegible]) which is often confounded with [illegible] (=Pah [illegible]) 6 All [illegible] (Pâz [illegible] or [illegible]) 7 All [illegible] (Av. [illegible] and Pâz [illegible]) 8 Av [illegible] (Pâz [illegible]) This is also read [illegible] and rendered [illegible] just below 9 All [illegible] 10 All add [illegible] but see the next word 11 All [illegible] (for Av [illegible]=Pâz [illegible]) The Pâzend word [illegible] is split into two words [illegible] and [illegible] and is rendered into Pahlavi by [illegible] and [illegible] respectively 12 All [illegible]

[illegible]

(31) [illegible] (32) [illegible] (33) [illegible] (34) [illegible] (35) [illegible] (36) [illegible] (37) [illegible] (38) [illegible]

(39) [illegible] (40) [illegible]

---

1 [illegible] for Pâz. [illegible] Here [illegible] is either read *devân* with the initial letter elided or read *viyārān*. 2 All [illegible] (Pâz:— [illegible]) [illegible] is rendered correctly by [illegible] but [illegible] is miswritten for [illegible]— 3 All [illegible]. 4 All [illegible] (for Pâz. [illegible]). 5 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]). 6 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]). 7 Wanting in Mss. (Pâz [illegible]) —but see the first syllable of the next word. 8 Mss. [illegible] or [illegible] (-?- for Pâz. [illegible]). 9 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]). 10 Mss. [illegible] or [illegible] for [illegible] (Pâz: [illegible] for [illegible]) 11 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible])

[illegible] [[illegible]][1] ∴

(41) [illegible][2]

(42) [illegible]

(43) [illegible]

(44) [illegible]

(45) [illegible][3] [illegible] [[illegible]][4] ∴

(46) [illegible] [[illegible]]

[illegible] (47) [illegible][5] [illegible] ∴

(48) [illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible][7] [[illegible]] [illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible][8] [illegible][9] [illegible][10] [illegible]

1 All omit the clause in brackets 2 Mss [illegible] or [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 3 All [illegible] for [illegible] (which is the rendering of Pâz. [illegible] the first personal pronoun)—Pâz. [illegible] 4 All give [illegible] for Pâz.— [illegible]

5 Mss [illegible] or [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible] or [illegible]) 6 All [illegible] as in Pâz. 7 Mss [illegible] or [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 8 All [illegible] 9 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 10 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible])

[illegible] (49) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(50) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(51) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (52) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (53) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(54) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (55) [illegible]

[illegible]

---

1 All [illegible] (Paz. [illegible]) 2 All [illegible] 3 All [illegible] ([illegible] miswritten as [illegible] :—Pâz. [illegible]) 4 All [illegible] 5 One Ms. [illegible] 6 [illegible] :doubtful—?—for [illegible] 7 §§ 51-54 are omitted in all Mss. up to here and the rest of the sentence is rendered unintelligibly thus :—

[illegible]

Here [illegible] is for Pâz. [illegible] and [illegible] for Pâz. [illegible] 8 All [illegible] (Paz. [illegible])

(56) [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible] [1] [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible] ∴

(57) [illegible] [4] [illegible] [5] [illegible] [6] [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible] [7] [illegible] ∴ (58) [illegible] [8] [[illegible]] [9] [illegible] [10] [illegible] ∴ (59) [illegible] (60) [illegible] [11] [illegible] [12] [illegible] [13] [illegible] ∴ (61) [illegible] [14] [illegible] ∴

(62) [illegible]

---

1 Mss [illegible] (Paz [illegible]) 2 All [illegible] 3 Mss [illegible] (Pâz [illegible]) 4 All [illegible] (Pâz [illegible]) 5 Mss here add [illegible] 6 All om 7 Mss [illegible] (Pâz [illegible]) 8 All [illegible] 9 For Paz [illegible] 10 All [illegible] (Pâz [illegible]) 11 One Ms [illegible] 12 One Ms [illegible] (for Pâz [illegible]) 13 One Ms [illegible] for [illegible] 14 Mss. [illegible] or [illegible] (Pâz [illegible])

[illegible] (63) [illegible] ([illegible])
[[illegible]] (64) [illegible]
[illegible] (65) [illegible] [1] [illegible]
[illegible] (66) [illegible] [[illegible]]
[illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible]
[illegible] (67) [illegible] [4] [illegible] ([illegible]
[illegible]) [illegible]
[illegible] (68) [illegible] [5] [illegible]
([illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible]) [illegible]
[illegible] (69) [illegible]
[illegible] [[illegible]] [illegible]
[illegible]

(70) [illegible] [6] [illegible] [7]
[illegible] (71) [illegible] [8] [illegible] (72)
[illegible] [9] (73) [illegible] [10] [illegible] [11] [illegible]
(74) [illegible] [12] [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible]
[illegible] [13] [illegible] [14] [illegible] (75) [illegible]

---

1 One Ms. [illegible] and another [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]). 2 Mss. [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 3 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 4 Pâz. [illegible] 5 All. [illegible] 6 All. [illegible] 7 One Ms. [illegible]— another [illegible] 8 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]). 9 For Pâz. [illegible] 10 Mss. [illegible] or [illegible] which is a mere transcription of Pâz. [illegible] (See Nirangistân § 56). 11 All [illegible] (for Pâz. [illegible]) 12 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]) 13 One Ms. [illegible] 14 One Ms. [illegible]

[illegible] (76) [illegible][1] [illegible] ∴

(77) [illegible][2] ([illegible]) [illegible] ∴ [illegible][3] [illegible][4] [illegible] ∴

(78) [illegible][5] [illegible] ([illegible])[6] [illegible] ∴ [[illegible] ∴]

(79) [[illegible] ∴]

(80) [illegible][8] [illegible][9] [illegible][10] [illegible][11] [illegible] [[illegible] ∴]

(81) [illegible][12] [illegible][13] [illegible]

---

1 One Ms [illegible] 2 Av [illegible]—Paz [illegible] Syn [illegible] 3 All [illegible] (for Paz [illegible]) 4 All [illegible] Av [illegible]—Paz [illegible] 5 All [illegible] Av [illegible]—Paz. [illegible] 6 Only one Ms gives the words in brackets 7 This whole section is omitted in Mss 8 One Ms [illegible] 9 All [illegible] (for Paz [illegible]) 10 All [illegible] 11 All [illegible] 12 Mss [illegible] or [illegible] (Av [illegible]—Paz [illegible]) 13 All [illegible] (Pâz [illegible])

[illegible] [1] ∴

(81 bis) [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] [illegible] ∴

(82) [illegible] [5] [illegible] ∴ [illegible] ∴ (83) [illegible] [6] [illegible] ∴

(84) [illegible] [7] [illegible] ∴ [illegible] ∴ [illegible] ∴ (85) [illegible] [8] [illegible] [9] [illegible]

(86) [illegible] [10] (87) [illegible]

---

1 § 80 follows § 81 in Mss. 2 One Ms. [illegible] 3 Mss. [illegible] 4 One Ms. [illegible] 5 Mss. [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]): The [illegible] in [illegible] is rendered [illegible] 6 Mss. [illegible] or [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]). 7 All [illegible] (Pâz. [illegible]). 8 All [illegible] 9 All [illegible]. 10 All [illegible]

(88)

(89)

(90)

(91) (92)

(93)

(94)

(95)

(96)

(97)

(98)

1 All 2 All 3 Mss. 4 All (Pâz.).

[illegible] (99) [illegible]

[illegible] ∴

(100) [illegible][1] [illegible][2] (101) [illegible]

[illegible][3] [illegible][5] [illegible]

[illegible] (102) [illegible]

[illegible] ∴

(103) [illegible] ∴ [illegible]

[illegible][4] [illegible] ∴

---

1 All om. 2 One Ms. [illegible] 3 All [illegible] 4 Mss. [illegible] (for Pāz. [illegible] which is confounded with [illegible] a synonym of [illegible]).

THE SIXTEEN SANSKRIT SHLOKAS GIVEN IN DASTUR ASPANDIÂRJI KÂMDINJI'S BOOK,

By Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, B A.

Dastur Aspandiârji Kâmdinji of Broach published a Gujarati book named *Kadim Târikha Pârshiôni Kasara* in 1826 A D. The Sanskrit Shlokas supposed to have been recited before the King Jâdi Rânâ by our ancestors at Sanjan at the time of their landing there have been edited and translated by me in the Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume and in Mr Rustom B Paymaster's Kisseh i Sanjân The Shlokas as given by Dastur Aspandiârji in his book referred to above are in Gujarati characters and have been re printed in Mr Paymaster's book

Regarding these Shlokas of Dastur Aspandiârji Dr Fuhrer says — "These Shlokas, in which the learned Dastur explained the Mazdayasnian religion to King Jâdi Rânâ of Sanjan, form the oldest documents relating to the Parsis in India and it is much to be regretted that the Sanskrit text as found in all the manuscripts at my disposal is very corrupt. The Sanskrit text published in Gujarâti characters by Aspandiârji Kâmdinji of Bharoch in Kadim Târikha Pârshioni Kasara, Surat, 1826, pp 129 146, *is not worthy of being looked at*" (BBRAS Journal, Vol 16, p 84)

This off hand criticism is a bit too hard Undoubtedly there are several mistakes of print; for instance ત often occurs for ન and સ for મ. No conjunct consonants are met with Words have been divided into odd portions, which are joined with the following words We are however in a position to reinstate the Shlokas, though not without difficulty * We shall give the Shlokas in Gujarati and try to correct them without disturbing the metre, which is bad We shall also give Dastur Aspandiarji's translation which is not accurate.

First Shloka

શુરીઅન ધેઆસ્મિનતી સ્મિવર્ઇ હુતવઅ મનીખમ જુમી આકાશ મદિઅંમ
તોસ્મિશા મપઅતતનમ તરીભાવ નશદનમ નીઆસ્મિશા મતરઈ અશાતરીશધંમ
શરી હોરમજદ શુરેશમ બહુગુણ ગરીમાનમ તમેકાત કેરપાલમ.
ગરીશ ધીરા શોનીશ બહુબલ નલિઆ શતેવઅમ પારસીકા.
(Corrected)

* This difficult subject was brought by me for discussion before the *Zarathoshti Dinni Khola Karnâri Mandali* in some of its meetings a few years ago.

सूर्यंध्यायन्ति ये वै हुतवहमनिलं भूमिमाकाशमाद्यं
तोयेशं पंचतत्त्वं त्रिभुवनसदनं नीआएशमंत्रैस्त्रिसंध्यम् ।
श्री होरमज्दसुरेशं बहुगुणगरिमाणं तमेकांतकृपालुम्
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who in the three watches of the day think highly of (*i.e.*, praise) the Sun and the Five Elements, (namely) Fire, Wind, Earth, the Primordial Sky and the Lord of the Waters by Niâisha prayers (who believe in) the existence of the three worlds, (who adore) that one merciful Ahuramazda, the Lord of the Angels, great on account of many virtues—those are we Parsis white, brave, good warriors, possessing much strength.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—શુરજનું ધેઆંન ધરનારા તથા અગનીની પુજાન કરનારા તથા ભોમી તથા આકાશ તથા પાણીને માંનનારા અને નીઆએશનું મંનતર જે છે તે દાડામાં તરણ વખત ભંણનારા અને પાંચે ફરેશતાથી આશમાંન તથા જમીન તથા પાતાલ છે અને શરી હોરમજદ જે શરવે ફરેશતાઓનો સરદાર છે તે ઘણો ગુણે ભરેલો અને જગતનો પાલનાર તેહેનું ધઆંન ધરનારા અમે ગોરા તથા ધીરા તથા શુરા તથા બલવંત પારશી છઈએ.

Second Shloka.

અશનાંને ધઆંને શો પાટે હુતવહ હવને પશશને તશરગ કાલે
શાશતરો કતંમ મઉન મારગંમ નીજ ગુરૂ વીહતંમ
નાનાં ધુપઈ શો પુશપઈ વરફલ નીચઈ પુજે જંનતીહા ધેનુ
ગઊરા ધીરા શો વીરા બહુબલ નલેઆ શતેવઅંમ પારશીકા.

(Corrected)

स्नाने ध्याने सुपाठे हुतवहहवने प्राशनेऽतिसर्गकाले
शास्त्रोक्तं मौनमार्गं निजगुरुविहितम् ... ।
नानाधूपैः सुपुष्पैर्वरफलनिचयैः पूजयंतीह धेनुं
गौरा धीराः सुवीरा बहुबलमिलयास्ते वयं पारसीकाः ॥

Translation.—Who (stick to) the path of silence mentioned in the Scriptures (and) prescribed by their preceptors while bathing, meditating, studying, adoring fire, eating and obeying calls of nature who here worship the Cow with incense of several kinds, with good flowers and plenty of best fruits—those are we Parsis white, brave, good warriors possessing much strength.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—નાહતી વેલા તથા પરમેશવરની ભગતી કરતાં ધઆંન રાખીને ભણવું કરે છે. તથા આતશની નીઆએશ કરતાં તથા જમતાં તથા પીશાબ કરતાં શાશતરની રૂએ ગરૂનાં હુકમ પરમાંણે એ શાતે જગો ઉપર બાજ ધરે. અને શુખડ લોબાંણ તથા અગરની ખુશબોએ કરીને તથા ઘણાં પુને કરીને તથા શારાં ફલે કરીને ગાએની પુજા કરે છે તે અમો ગોરા તથા ધીરા તથા શુરા તથા બલવંત પારસી છઈએ.

Note—Some words have dropped from the second line The worship of the Cow seems to be the Varashyo ceremony.

Third Shloka

રમેઅમ શાનગેાગેા વશાતરમ કવીચ ગુણુ મઅમ કચુકમ એદરતી
ઈઉકતા મુગનશેા પુરાતી મહીમુખ શમનમ બધનમ શરનકેટઆમ
મુરદાન ચીતરા વશાતરે પટ જુગલ તને છાદીઅનતીક નીતઅમ
ગઊગ ધીરા શેા વીરા બહુગલ નલેઆ શતેનઅમ પારશીકા.
(Corrected)

रम्य स्नागेषु वस्त्र वचनगुणमय कञ्चुक ये धरति
युक्तामूर्णासुकुर्न्तमाहिमुखसमत बधन सर्वकट्याम् ।
मूर्धान चित्रवस्त्रे पग्युगलतले छादयन्तीह नित्य
गौरा धीरा सुवारा बहुबलनिलयास्ते वय पारसीका ॥

Translation—Who put on their bodies a clean sacred garment (Sudrā) possessing the virtues of a coat of mail who (put on) on their waist the good Kushti of proper wool which is like the mouth of a serpent who always cover the head with a turban of variegated cloth under which is a cap of two folds—those are we Parsis &c

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જે પોતાને અંગે બખ્તર જેવાને શદરો પેહેરે અને કમરે સારી ઉનની પવીતર કુશતી સાપના મોડા જેવી બાંધે છે અને માથુ બેવડી ટોપીથી ઢાપે છે તે અમો ગોરા તથા ધીરા તથા શુરા તથા બનતત પારસી છઈએ

Note—કુરાતી was a misprint for કુશતી

Fourth Shloka

યેન માગલમ વીવાએ તત્ર શુભ દીનેશે શુત શવગ ગીતા વાદીઅમ
શ્રી ખદાનેઅ શુધનદમ વપુશી એવતઈ એાધારીઅઈ અતીહા એશામ
આચાર એ પવીત્રા બહુગુણ વીનએા રમએ શાશતગ અરથઈ ઉકતા
ગઉરા ધીરા૦
(Corrected)

येन मांगल्य विवाहे तत्र शुभदिवसे सुतसगीतवाद्यम्
श्रीखडाद्य सुगध वपुषि युवतयो धारयन्तीह येषाम् ।
आचारे ये पवित्रा बहुगुणविधयो रम्यशास्त्रार्थयुक्ता
गौरा धीरा ० &c

Translation—With whom on marriage occasions and on auspicious days there are joy and song and music (sung and played) by children whose females apply sandal fragrance &c to their bodies who being pure in dealings perform ceremonies of various qualities and who are attached to delightful scriptures—those are we Parsis &c

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જેનાં ઘરમાં લગંણને શારે દાડે ગીત ગાવાં તથા તાશાં નગારાં વાગે છે અને જેનુ કાંમ શરવ પવીતર છે. અને જેની અશાતરીઆ અંગે શુખર તથા હરએક તરહેની ખુરાબો લગાડે છે અને જેના શાશાતરની રીતનાં ગુણ ઘણાં છે તે અંમો ગેારા (વગેરે)

Fifth Shloka.

એશાંમ ગહેશુરમંમ અધુરા રશાઅંમ ચાંનદાંનંમચ તીતંમ
કાશારંમ કુપ વાપી ધરતર કરતંમ દાંન મેભ્ભી પરકારમ
વશાતરાદંમ દરવદાંનંમ દવીરાવર ગુણીનાંમ શરવ દાએ ચરંતી
ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે)
(Corrected)

येषां गेहे सुरम्यं मधुररसमयं चान्नदानं च नित्यम् ।
कासारकूपवापिधर्म्रैकृतं दानमेभिः प्रकारम् ।
वस्त्राद्यं द्रव्यदानं द्वीश्वरगुणीनां सर्वदा ये चरंति ।
गौरा धीराः॰ &c.

Translation.—In whose house there is the giving away (in charity) of food, which is sweet and full of pleasant taste, who do such charitable acts as the building of lakes, wells, reservoirs and (religious) houses who give presents of money and clothes, &c., who always believe in the doctrine of the two gods (Spentamainyu and Angramainyu)—those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જેના ઘરથી અંનની શખાવત થાએછે અને તલાવ કુવા તથા વાવ બંધાવે છે અને વશાતર તથા દરવ બહુ ગુણવાલા બરાંમણને આપે છે તે અમો ગેારા (વગેરે)

Note.—The grammar is bad. અધુરા is a misprint for મધુરા and તીતંમ for નીતંમ (नित्यं). " દાનમેભ્ભિ " is also a misprint for दानमेभिः In the third line the doctrine of Dualism is referred to.

Sixth Shloka.

ઈઆ દરકા હરશેા વીશાદ શુખમ શુખમહેા ગનેઆંન મઉનેચ ઈઆદરક
ધરમ ધરમ ઉચ ઈઆદરક વીમલ કુલ કરતઈ આ ઉરધા ધશમાચ ઈ—
આ ઈઆદરક દુતી તીમીરીચ એઉશારશ તીરાંમહાં કારઉ એશાંમ મારગેા
વતઈ વદઈ નરવર પોરૂશેા ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે)
(Corrected)

यादृग् हर्षो विषादः सुखमसुखमहो ज्ञानमौने च यादृक्
धर्माधर्मौ च यादृग् विमलकुलकृतैः और्ध्वाधस् समाचयैः (?) ।
यादृग् द्युतितिमिरमयौ सृष्टिसंहारकारौ येषां मार्गौ
वर्तेत्र हि नरवरपुरुषाः गौरा धीराः &c.

Translation—(Adopting the text in Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume we translate the verse thus)—In whose doctrine are spoken of the two limitless (or unconditioned) Beings the Creator and the Destroyer consisting of light and darkness, who are like (opposed to each other like) joy and sorrow happiness and unhappiness knowledge and ignorance religion and irreligion noble and base born health and disease, above and below, these are we Parsis &c

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જેઓ હરખ ને કલેશ જેહવું દુખને શુખ જેહવું ગનેઆન ને અગનેઆન જેહવો ધરમ ને અધરમ જેહવો આરોગ ને રોગ જેહવું આકાશને પરથી અજવાલું ને અધારૂં જેહેવી સરસાઈ ને મરકી તેવા અમો પુરૂશ ને નારી તે અમો ગોગ તથા વીગ (વગેર)

Note—The translation of this verse was the subject of much discussion in the *Zarathoshti Dinni Khollarnâri Mandali* where this subject was brought The above translation is the one suggested by our President Mr M P Khareghat one of the best Oriental scholars On a comparison of this verse with the corresponding one in the Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume it will be seen that the second and third lines have undergone considerable alterations The third line has been very corruptly transcribed by Dastur Aspandiârji In તીમીરૉય્ય ઍઉ the letter ય is a misprint for મ, so that the correct reading is तिमिरमयौ Similarly ગ is a typographical mistake for શ Thus the correct text for સરસા તીગમહર કારઉ would be सद्दिसहारकारौ Most difficult of all is the phrase માગોવતઇ વદઇ નરવર પોરૂશો Here દ is clearly a misprint for હ so that the correct reading would be मागा वतैव (– वतैव) हे नरवरपुरुषौ Or could the text be मागा वतैव हैन्यवरपुरुषौ, although this omits to take notice of र in नर ?

Seventh Shloka

ગો મુતરઈ મનતર પુતઈ શારદનન મીતઈ શાતરી પમ્મે પાન શુધઈ
બા વ્યત રાનાન મુકતમ તદનો પરીપીરતા મધે દેશેચ મુદરા
બાજ્ય ત નીદરા ચન વ્યપકરનમ દેન પુજાદી કારીઅમ
એશામ મારગે હીતતનન રાતતનમ ભઅદચ ગઉરા ધીગ (વગેર)
(Corrected)

गोमूत्रैर्मन्त्रपूतैः शिरवदनमितैस्त्रिपय पानशुद्धै
बाह्यान्तस्नानमुक्त तदनुपरिवृता मध्यदेशे च मुद्रा ।
बाह्य ता निद्रा च न जपकरण देवपूजादिकार्यम् ।
येषा मार्ग हि तत्र सततममयद च गौरा धीरा ० &c.

Translation—Among whom by cow urine which is consecrated by prayers and which is applied to the head and face and which purifies by the three fold drink there is said to be the external and internal

ablution ; and (among whom) afterwards the Badge (*i.e.*, Kushti) is tied round the waist, (among whom) there are not to be sleep, and the saying of silent prayers and worship &c. of God without it, (to whom) the material world is full of reality, and the giving of protection from danger—those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જેના મારગમાંહાં ગો મુતરે કરીને મંતર ભણીને નાહાવું કહુ છે. અને કેડે કુશતી રાખવી અને કુશતી વીના ઉંઘવું નહીં. અને જપ ન કરવો. અને કુશતી વીના શાહેબની શેવા ન કરવી. અને જેહેના મારગમાહાં મરે તેહેની ફરી પેદાએશ નહી. એ તતવ છે તે અમો ગોરા ધીરા (વગેરે).

Note.—इवन is a mistake for वदन. There is here a reference to the drinking of cow-urine at the time of the Naojot ceremony, which the writer had in mind.

Eighth Shloka.

કાશટઈ શટમાશ શુશાકઈ રગરૂમ અજઈ કાશટ કરપુર ધુપઈ
હોમશ આત પંચ કાલંમ પરતીદીન મુદી તઈ રખશરઈ મંનતર ઈ એાકતઈ
તીર વાંનંમ વનીર વતમ ધંનનીચએ નો ઈઉ ગાંનતે પી અઈઆં ઈઆત—
શ તમને આઈક નીશટા નચઈ વતીર તથા ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે).
(Corrected)

काष्ठैः षट्मासशुष्कैरगुरुमलयजैः काष्ठकर्पूरधूपैः
होमः स्यात् पंचकालं प्रतिदिनमुदितैरक्षरैर्मंत्रयुक्तैः ।
निर्वाणं वह्निरवृतघननिचये नो युगान्तेऽपि यायात्
सत्यं न्यायैकनिष्ठा न च युवतिरता गौरा धीराः० &c.

Translation.—(Among whom) there is Homa (Fire prayer) five times a day with sacred formulas, (while) putting on the fire aloe and sandal wood, which is dried for six months, and wood camphor and benzoine, (among whom) extinction of fire shall never take place in a thick bundle (of wood) which is unselected, who are really devoted to the principle of justice and are not addicted to damsels—those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—છ મહીનામાં શુકાં અગરનાં તથા મરીઆગનાં તથા શુખરનાં લાકડાંનો તથા કપુરનો ધુપ પાંચ વેરા કરે. અને પાંચ વેરા મંતરના અખશર ભણીને હોમે અને અગની શુરજને ન દેખે. અને વરશાદના દાડામાં અગનીને જાલવે અને જે શાચા નેઆયના ચાલનારા અને પારકી અશતરીને તજનારા તે અમો ગોરા ધીરા (વગેરે).

Notes.— वाह्निः should be वह्निः। If we take the reading वह्निर्वृतघननिचये the meaning would be "under a mass of covered clouds." તીર વાંનંમ is a misprint for નીર વાંનંમ. The reading सूर्यावृतघनरुचिरो is better, meaning "which is shining like a cloud covered by the Sun

Ninth Shloka

એશાંમ મે વાંગનાઆ રતુશમે અદીને શપત ગતગ ભવેઃ વઈ
શુધી શુધા આ મારાત પગ્રાવા શમે અકે દેહેશુધી શત થઈ વ
ગમેઆ આરિણુ છંગીકત નવ કનકા ની ભા.વીગ્ય વતો બલેશટા
પુતાતંમ તોપીનોત અમ વીક શીતા વદના ગઉરા ધીગ (વગેરે)
(Corrected)

ग्रेषामेवाङ्गना या ऋतुसमयदिने सप्तरात्रौ भवेद् वै
शुधी शुद्धा च मासात् प्रसवसमये देहे शुद्धितश्चैव ।
रम्याचारेण युक्तनवनवनिभा धीर्यवन्तो बलिष्ठा
पुतात्मनोपि नित्य विकसितवदना गौरा धीरा ० &c.

Translation—Whose female in menstrual period becomes pure on the seventh night, (whose female) wise and upright when delivered of a child becomes pure after a month who by their graceful conduct are powerful and strong, who shine with fine new golden ornaments, who *have always pure souls and laughing faces—those are we, Parsis &c*

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જેહેની અગતરીઓ ગુલાલનેથીરો ઈઆને દરાતાંન બોલી એાગતો ૭ રાત દીવરી પવીતર થાઐ અને જણે તારે દીવમ ૪૦ આલીરો પવીતર થાઐ. અને જે રૂગ આઆરે ગાગી જુગતે પવીતર ગડે અને ગોરા શારા દેખઈતા અને મોહોરા પગાડમી હોગીઆર અને ઘણા પવીતર અને હમેશાં ખુશ રેહેનાર અમો પારશી છઈએ.

Note—There are at least three misprints in this stanza પુતાતમ તોપી should be પુતાતમ નોપી (पूतात्मनोऽपि)

Tenth Shloka

વેશાઆભી નઈ વ શંધમ પીતર ગમ શુચીતા શધકાલે ગની ચીનતા
નો માંગ શંમ જગન બાજેઅમ શવ પતી નહી દગ એઆંમ હો પુશપનારી
વહીવાએ લગણ શુધી રશુચી નહીમતા ભગતર હીના પુરનધરી
એશામ આચાગ એવમ પરતીદીના મુદીતા ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે)
(Corrected)

येष्वाभिर्नैव संगमः पितृसंमूचिताराध्यकालेऽग्निचिन्ता
नो मांसं यज्ञबाह्य स्वपिति न हि धरायामहो पुष्पनारी ।
विवाहे रमशुद्धिरशुचिर्न हि मता भर्तृहीना पुरध्री
येषामाचारा एव प्रतिदिनमुदिता गौरा धीरा ० &c.

Translation—Who do not come into contact with concubines, (among whom) the fire is to be adored at the time of the worship of the Pitris, who do not use flesh except in sacrifices, whose females whilst *in menstruation do not sleep on the earth, (among whom) there is purity*

of marriage in weddings, and the female who has lost her husband is not considered pure—those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જે વેશીઆનો શંગ ન કરે અને જે પરમાંણે બુજરગો થાઈ ગયા તે પરમાંણે પવીતર રેહે. અને શરાધકાલે ઈમાને ડોશલાંના દાડા અગનીનું ધઆંના ધરે અને જવંગ વના માશ જેને કાંમ નહીં આવે. ઈમાને ગંહંબાર તથા જશંન તથા ફરવરદીઆન શેવાએ ગોશત કાંમમાં નહીં આવે. અને દશતાંન બેંઠેલી અશતરી ભોમી ઉપર વગર બીછાંને શુવે નહીં. અને વેવામાંહાં લગણનો શારો દીવસ જુવે અને વેવામાંહા અપવીતર કાંમ નહીં આવે. એહેવો જેનો આચાર છે તે અમો બલવંત પારશી છઈએ.

Note.— अशुचिः should be शुचिः; otherwise the meaning would be that females who had lost their husbands were not considered impure or unfit to take part in auspicious ceremonies.

Eleventh Shloka.

ચત વારીઅંશ દીનાંની પરચરતી નવધુ પાક કારીએ પરશુતા
મનાટીઆ શવલપ નીદરા જપ વીધી નીરતા શનાંન શુરીઆ અરચને શુ-
ધઆ અ તે ચઈ વ નીત અમ મરૂદ નલ ધરા તો એ ચાંદરારક જગનામ
એશાંમ વરનો નદીરંન શતત મભએને ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે)
'Correctcd)

चत्वारिंशाद्दिनानि प्रचराति न वधुः पाककार्ये प्रसूता
मौनाद्यस्वल्पनिद्रा जपविधिनिरता स्नानसूर्यार्चनेषु ।
ध्यायन्ते चैव नित्यं मरुदनलधरातोयचंद्रार्कयज्दान्
येषां वर्णो न दीर्णः सततं भये ते गौरा धीराः० &c.

Translation.—Whose wives delivered of a child do not get engaged in the work of cooking for 40 days, (whose wives) are moderate in sleep and are devoted to silence &c., who after ablution are engaged in silent prayers and in worshipping the Sun, who always think of (worship) the Wind, Fire, Moon, Sun, and (other) Yazatas, whose community is never split up in (times of) danger—those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જેની અશતરી જણીઆ પછે ૪૦ ચાલીશ દીવશ શુધી રશોઈના કાંમમાંહાં નહીં આવે અને કોઈ શાંભલે તે પરમાંણે બોલે નહીં. અને ઘણીવાર ઉંધે નહીં અને દીન ૪૦ ચાલીશ પછે નાહીને સુરજની પુજા કરે તેવાર પછે જે બીજું કરવું હોએ તે કરે. અને નીતે પવંન તથા અગની તથા ભોમી તથા પાંણી તથા ચંદર તથા શુરજ તથા જશંન તથા ગંહંબાર એ શરવેને માંને છે અને જેની વરંન પરમેશાવરના હુકંમથી આખર શુધી જારી રેહે તે અમો ગોરા (વગેરે)

Notes.—40 days' rest is also mentioned in the Vendidad V.49. મનાટીઆ is clearly a misprint for મનાદીઆ. જગનામ્ might be meant for यज्ञं.

Twelfth Shloka

પાણીઅમ વીઅંમ ચદરમ હુત વહ મનીલમ ભુમી માદતએં નેવમ
ગરી હોરમજદ દાતારમચલ મમરમ ચેતશા ચતનીઅમ
નીતઅંમ એનાશા પાડમ શતત વીજએદમ ધરમ દમ શા ચરનતી ત-
વાહારે મઉન માડીઆ શતનુ શુચી કરણે ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે).
(Corrected)

> पानीय व्योम चंद्र हुतवहमनिल भूमिमादित्यमेयम्
> श्री होरमज्ददातार अचलममर चेतसा चिन्तनीयम
> नित्यं ये न्यासपाठं सततविजयद धर्मद सचरति ते
> आहारे मौनमायास्तनुशुचिकरणे गौरा धीरा.० &c

Translation—Who thus by mind think of (worship) water, sky, moon, fire, wind, earth and the Sun, and Ahuramazda the Creator, immutable and immortal, who always recite the Nyâishna prayer, which is always the giver of victory and giver of righteousness, who maintain silence while eating and washing the body—those are we Parsis &c

દરતુરજીનો તરજુમો—જે નીતે પાણી તથા આકાશ તથા ચદર તથા અગની તથા પવન તથા ભોમી તથા શુરજ તથા હોરમજદ ને મોહોટે સાહેબ અને દાતાર અને કાએમ વગર મોતનો તેહેનુ મનથી ધ્યાન કરે છે અને જે ફતેહનો આપનારો અને ધરમનો વધારનાર તેહેની નીઆએશનુ ભણવું કરનાર અને જમતી વેળા તથા નાહાતી વખત બાજ ધરે છે તે અમો ગોરા તથા ધીરા (વગેરે).

Note—વાહારે might stand for व्याहारे (in speech)

Thirteenth Shloka

ઊરના રુપાંમશે વરનામ શુલલીતા ફલદામ જાહાનવી શનાન પુને આમ
મેશાનામ ચઈવ પુમશામ ધણ ગુણ રચીતામ હેમ વરણાંનચે રમઅમ
ઈ એાગા કારાંમ વીશાલાંમ ગુરુજણ વચનઈ મેખલામ ધારીઅનતી
શાશતરોકતંમ શરોનીદીશે ઉરુતર જઘણે ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે)
(Corrected)

> ऊर्णारूपा सुवर्णा सुललितफलदां जाह्नवीस्नानपुण्याम्
> येषा चैव पुम्सां घनगुणरचिता हेमवर्णा च रम्याम् ।
> योगाकारां विशाला गुरुजनवचनैर्मेखला धारयन्ति
> शास्त्रोक्ता श्रोणिदेशे ऊरुतरजघने गौरा धीरा ० &c.

Translation—Who in accordance with the directions of elderly persons and the teachings of the Scriptures, always put on Kushti made of wool, of good colour, the giver of pleasant fruit, which is meritorious like the ablution in the Ganges, which is made of thickly set strings, which is of golden colour, which is lovely and long and which is of the

form of *Yoga*, on the region of the waist on the upper part of the thighs —those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જે પોતાની કંમરે ઉનની શારી બેશ અને શારાં ફલને આપે તેહેવી અને ઘણા પવીતર કરે અને ઘેટાનાં નીમાલા ઘણા તાર વતે કરીને મોહોટી કુશતી ગુરૂનાં વચંનથી તથા શાશતરની રીતે કંમરે બાંધે છે. તે અંમો ગોરા (વગેરે)

Fourteenth Shloka.

જાતેઆ નીતઅંમ પવીતરા પશુમપી શાહશાહંનતી વેત પંચ ગવીઅઈ-
ગૌ મુતરઈ શનાંન પુરવંમ ઘંનતર દીવશા અઈ શુધી રેવંમ મનોગના
નીતઅંમ ગરૂ નાંમ શુવચન કરનાંમ કલમશા ખઆલના રથંમ
એશાં આચાર એવંમ પરતીદીન મુદીતા ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે).
(Corrected)

जात्या नित्यं पवित्राः पशुमपि सहसा हन्ति चेत् पंचगव्यैः
गोमूत्रैः स्नानपूर्वं घनतरदिवसैः शुद्धिरेवं मनोज्ञा
नित्यं गुरूणां सुवचनवरणं कल्मषक्षालनार्थम्
येषामाचार एवं प्रतिदिनमुदिता गौरा धीराः० &c.

Translation.—Who being pure by birth, if they accidentally kill even an animal, become pure after several days by (performing) ablution with cow-urine and (drinking) *Panch-gavya*, (the five products of the cow), (among whom) such is the belief, who always follow the good instructions of (their) ancestors for washing off sin, who daily rejoice in such practices—those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જે નીતે પવીતર છે અને કોઈ વખત પશુ વગરે મારેઆ માહાં આવે તારે ગઉમુતરે કરીને અશનાન કરતાં ઘણે દીવશે પવીતર થાએ છે એહેવો જેનો આચાર છે અને હમેશે ખુશ રહે છે તે અંમો ગોરા (વગેરે)

Note.— वेत seems to be a misprint for चेत्. The horizontal dash being indistinct, the च was read as व

Fifteenth Shloka.

પુરવા ચાર એઈ તરબંધ એઈ વીરચીત રૂચીત રૂચીરેઈ મુખશા મારગપરદાત
શંશકારેઈ શતાત કવીનામ વીરચીત વીધીના કથતે વીઓમ દશા ચ
શરવે શાંમ ચતર આનાંમ દહંન વશુમતી ભાશકર નાંનચ પુજા
પુશપાદએઈ શંમ પરદેશટા પરમુદી તા મનશા ગઉરા ધીરા (વગેરે).
(Corrected)

पूर्वाचारेतरबंधैर्विरचिततरुचिरैर्मोक्षमार्गप्रदात–
संस्कारैः सतात् कवीनां विरचितविधिना कथ्यते व्योमदश्च ।
सर्वेषां च त्रयाणां दहनवसुमतीभास्कराणां च पूजा
पुष्पाद्यैः संप्रदिष्टा प्रमुदितमनसा गौरा धीराः० &c.

Translation—Of whose good men it is said that they get heaven by (observing) old customs and other rules, and by rites which are well arranged, pleasant and delightful, and which give the path of salvation, and by well arranged ceremonies, (among whom) all the three (Yazatas) Fire, Earth, and Sun are worshipped, and who are ordained (to worship)* with flowers &c, with a cheerful mind—those are we Parsis &c.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—જે પહેલાના વડાના રીતીઓએ સારા બેસા કરેલા, મુખ્યાના મારગ ઇમાને કરીથી પેદા નહીં થાએ એવા મારગ છે. તે રીત કરીને ચાલે તો ફરી પેદા નહીં થાએ અને બુજરગોની રીતે આતશ તથા જમીન તથા ખુરશેદનુ ધ્યાન ધરતાં અગની ઉપર ખુશબોએ કરી તથા ફુલે કરીને પોતાની ખુશીથી શાગતર પરમાત્નું પુજન કરેછે તે અમો ગોરા તથા વીરા (વગેરે)

Sixteenth Shloka

શરી હોરમજદ જેઆ મુખમ એ તગકત ધીરજએ કરત પુતર પઉતરેશુ
વધી દાતા શરી આતશોઅમ બહુ ધન ફલ કરત નાશની પાપમ જાતુ
તે ગોરે પારશીકા ગતત વીરજીત ગરી જએ શાશે ઉપ નતેઅમ
ગઉરા વીરા (વગેરે)
(Corrected)

श्री होरमिज्दमस्य मुखं यत् तस्य विजयदात् पुत्र पौत्रेषु
वृद्धिदाता श्री आतशोऽस्त बहुधन फलदो नाशयते पापं न जातु ।
ते तां पारसीका गतताविजयिन श्रीजयार्थेव नित्यम्
गौरा वीरा • &c.

Translation—May this Fire, the giver of prosperity, who is the victorious mouth of Ahuramazda, and the giver of all victory to sons and grandsons and the giver of much wealth and fruit, really destroy sin May all the Parsis be always victorious and always possessed of victory Those are we Parsis white, brave good warriors, possessing much strength.

દસ્તુરજીનો તરજુમો—શ્રી હોરમજદ ફરેશતાઓનો શાહેબ કહેવા છે કે સારે કામ કરે તેહેનું નામ લીધાથી સારે મુરાદ બર આવે. અને શ્રી આતશ ફરજંદાન ફરજંદને વધારે અને ઘણું ધન આપે અને જેને કોઈ દીવસ પાપ નહીં લાગે. અને નશો પલીદી બાળેઆથી આતશ અપવીતર થતો નથી. અને જે હમેશાહ બખશામી તથા જરા તથા શુખ તથા ખુશી તથા ફતેહ સારે વસાનુંને આપે તે અમો પારશી છઉ.

Note—Just as Agni is spoken of as the mouth of the Devas among the Hindus, so here Fire is spoken of as the mouth of Ahuramazda.

THE WORD अहुर (*ahura*) IN SANSKRIT AND THE GOBHILAS,

By Irach J S Taraporewala B A , Ph D , Bar. at Law Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta

The equation Sanskrit *asura* = Avesta *ahura* is always given to exemplify the identity of the two great branches of the Āryan group of languages We also know that the word *asura* is in the most ancient Vedic literature, used for Varuṇa the highest of the Vedic deities But it would be information to most that the word *ahura* (the Avesta word itself) has been used in Vedic literature also It is a unique occurrence in the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma Veda* 1 6 21 The passage is

अहुर इदं ते परिददाम्यमुम् ॥

The translation of the passage may be "O Ahura here to thee I deliver so-and-so' This remarkable word *ahura* here has not been evidently properly understood by the commentators And it seems strange that it should have so far escaped the attention of European scholars also

With this *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* the *Gobhila Gṛhya Sutra* is very intimately connected According to Oldenberg the Sutra of Gobhila .... presupposes beside the Saṃhitā of the Sāma Veda another collection of Mantras which evidently was composed expressly with the purpose of being used at Gṛhya ceremonies this collection is preserved to us under the title of Mantra Brāhmaṇa [1] Oldenberg therefore thinks that "the two works have been composed together and on one common plan

The Gṛhya Sūtras as is well known, deal with the household ceremonies and ritual, and in the *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra* in the tenth *kāṇḍikā* (chapter) of the second *prapāṭhaka* (section) we find the ceremony of the investiture of the sacred thread described In the course of which ceremony the Teacher repeats verses from the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* to the accompaniment of various gestures Some detail of the whole ceremony may not be uninteresting [2]

15 To the east of the house on a surface besmeared (with cow-dung) wood has been put on the fire

---

1 *S B E* , xxx, p 3

2 Ibid, pp 64ff The number given with each para in the quotation indicates the number of the *Sutra* in *Gobhila Gr S* ii 10 I have given this long quotation here on account of its obvious importance and interest to all Āryan peoples

16. Having sacrificed with (the Mantras which the student recites) 'Agni! Lord of the vow' (*M.B.*, i. 6. 9-13), the teacher stations himself to the west of the fire, on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing the east.

17. Between the fire and the teacher the student (stands), raising his joined hands towards the teacher, on northward-pointing Darbha grass.

18. Standing on his south side a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Mantras fills (the student's) joined hands with water.

19. And afterwards (those) of the teacher.

20. Looking (at the student) the teacher murmurs (the verse), 'With him who comes to us, we have come together' (*M.B.*, i. 6.14).

21. He causes (the student) to say, 'I have come hither to studentship' (ib., 16).

22. In (the words) 'What is thy name' (ib., 17) he asks after his name.

23. The teacher chooses for him a name which he is to use in respectful salutations.

24. (A name) derived from (the name of) a deity or a Nakṣatra.

25. Or also of his Gotra, according to some teachers.

26. Having let the water run out of his joined hands (over the student's hands), the teacher with his right hand seizes (the student's) right hand together with the thumb, with (the formula), 'By the impulse of the god Savitṛ, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with Puṣan's hands I seize thy hand, N. N.!' (ib., 18).

27. He then makes him turn from left to right with (the formula), 'Move in the sun's course after him N. N.!' (ib., 19).

28. Grasping down with his right hand over his right shoulder he should touch his uncovered navel with (the formula), 'Thou art the knot of all breath' (ib., 20).

29. Raising himself (from the position implied in Sūtra 28, he should touch) the place near the navel with (the formula), 'Ahura' (ib., 21).

30. Raising himself (still more, he should touch) the place of the heart with (the formula), 'Kṛśana' (ib., 22).

31. Having touched from behind with his right hand (the student's) right shoulder with (the formula), 'I give thee in charge to Prajāpati N. N.! (ib., 23).

32. And with his left (hand) the left (shoulder) with (the formula), I give thee in charge to the god Savitṛ, N. N.! (ib., 24).

33 He then directs him (to observe the duties of Brahmacarya, by the formula) 'A student art thou N N !' (ib , 25)

34 'Put on fuel Eat water Do the service Do not sleep in the day time' (ib , 26)

35 Having gone in a northerly direction from the fire, the teacher sits down to the east, on northward pointed Darbha grass

36 The student to the west bending his right knee, turning his face towards the teacher, also on northward pointed Darbha grass

37 (The teacher) then ties round (the student) thrice from left to right the girdle made of Muñja grass and causes him to repeat (the verse) 'Protecting us from evil word' (ib , 27) and (the verse) 'The protectress of right' (ib , 28)

38 Then (the student) respectfully sits down near (the teacher) with (the words), 'Recite, sir ! May the reverend one recite the Sāvitrī to me'

39 He then recites (the Sāvitrī ib , 29) to him Pāda by Pāda hemistich by hemistich, and the whole verse

40 And the Mahāvyāhṛtis one by one with the word Om at the end (ib , 30)

41 And handing over to him the staff which should be made of (the wood of) a tree, he causes him to repeat (the formula) 'O glorious one, make me glorious' (ib , 31)

42 Then (the student) goes to beg food

43 First of his mother and of two other women friends, or of as many as there are in the neighbourhood

For our purpose the invocation to the deities forms the most important part of this ritual, these are the verses 18 to 24 of the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* (I 6) referred to in the *sūtras* 26 32 quoted above The full text of the invocation is as follows —

देवस्य ते सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां हस्तं गृह्णाम्यसौ ॥१८॥
सूर्यस्यावृतम् अन्वावर्तस्वासौ ॥१९॥
प्राणानां ग्रन्थिरसि मा विस्रसो अवमह्ऽन्तक इदं ते परिददाम्यमुम् ॥२०॥
अहुर इदं ते परिददाम्यमुम् ॥२१॥
कृशन इदं ते परिददाम्यमुम् ॥२२॥
प्रजापतये त्वा परिददाम्यसौ ॥२३॥
देवाय त्वा परिददाम्यसौ ॥२४॥

The chief deity is, of course, Savitṛ; and the four deities Ahura, Kṛśana, Prajāpati and Savitṛ form a closely connected group in this ritual. These are invoked as the navel, the heart, the right shoulder and the left shoulder respectively of the neophyte are touched by the initiating Teacher. Of these four Ahura and Kṛśana are of special interest to us here.

The best edition of the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* is that of Stönner (Halle, 1901). As regards verse 21 he notes the variant readings *ahur, abhura,* and *antara,* and he also mentions that the verse is omitted in one copy.

There are two important commentaries on this text. The earlier one is that of Sāyana, the great Vedic scholar of antiquity. His commentary runs thus :

अहुरेति । अहुरः कलुषः कूर इत्यार्थः । अत्रामुम् इत्यस्य स्थान उरो निर्दिशेत् ।
इदमुरस्ते परिददासि ॥

The word *kūra* in this commentary seems to me to be a mistake for *krūra,* because the latter means also *kaluṣa.* Evidently Sāyana is not at all certain as to the true signification of the word *Ahura.*

The other earlier commentators show variant readings, one reads *ahuriḥ* and renders it *Vāyuh* ; and another, reading *abhuriḥ*, also renders it *Vāyuḥ* also. Both these are evidently merely guessing.

Then we come to the second important commentary, that of Sāma śramin. He says :—

हे अहुर । वायो । इदं वालकशरीरं ते तुभ्यं परि सर्वतः ददासि शरणापन्नं करोमि ।

Thus this commentator also accepts the traditional meaning given by Sāyanācārya.

But there is also another commentator who renders it as *jaṭharāgni* no doubt due to the fact that the navel is touched while this verse is repeated. And Knauer, translating the verse into German, renders the word *Ahura* as "Feuer des Magens" (Fire of the belly, i.e., *jaṭharāgni*).

Then with regard to the next verse mentioning Kṛśana, all commentators are agreed in taking it as *Kṛśānu,* another name of Agni. And one of them (Sāyana) tries to derive the name as प्राणानां क्लेशनकर्ता ।

I think that both these deities are Aryan deities, i.e., they belong to a period before the two peoples separated. Ahura needs no comment. As for Kṛśana we find the name *Kərəsāni* in the *Haoma Yašt* (*Yas.* ix. 24), where he is represented as the great opponent of Haoma. We also get the word *kərəsa* used in the *Sraoša Yašt Hāδoxt* (*Yt.* xi. 6) and in the

Zamyād Yašt (*Yt* xix 77) in the sense of "highway robber" or "brigand" Evidently we have here a case of degradation of meaning, which is not unparalleled in the Avesta [1] I think we are quite safe in comparing the two names *Kṛśana* and *Kərəsani* and in regarding them as originally identical and used as the name of an Aryan deity And hence too would follow the conclusion that the names here used in the *Mantra Brāhmana* are really relics of a very ancient tradition going back to the period when the Indo Iranians were living together as a united race

It would be now interesting to consider somewhat carefully the work with which the *Mantra Brāhmana* is so closely associated *viz*, the *Gobhila Gṛhya Sutra* It is regarded as the most ancient the most complete and the most interesting of all the Gṛhya Sutras extant [2] Weber, in his *History of Indian Literature* says that ' his name has a very unvedic ring and nothing in any way corresponding to it appears in the rest of Vedic literature ' [3] In the *Vamsa Brahmana* of the *Sāma Veda* a list of 59 Teachers is given beginning with Brahman Svayambhu From this first name we get in succession Prajāpati Mṛtyu Vāyu Indra and Agni Next after Agni we get the first *human* Teacher Kasyapa and from this latter the 26th in succession was Rādha Gautama Upto this Rādha Gautama the line of Teachers was undivided but "Rādha Gautama had two pupils who apparently became founders of different schools One is called Amsu Dhānanjayya who received instruction from Rādha Gautama and Amavāsya Sandilyāyana, the other Gobhila, had no teacher beside Rādha" [4] And the successors of Gobhila are eleven in number

The remark of Weber that the name Gobhila has an "unvedic ring" is worth considering We begin at once to think of the famous Rajput clan—the Gohils—in connection with this name There seems hardly any doubt that the two names are identical Colonel Tod in his immortal *Rajasthan* derives the word from "*goh* (strength) and *ela* (the earth)",[5] but this seems rather of the folk-etymology variety The meaning of the word *gobhila* itself is doubtful and no guess could be ventured as to its etymology The legend of their founder Goha the ancestor of Bappā Rāwal, is evidently another attempt at popular etymology to

1 *Cf* the word *kavi* as used *e g* in *Yas* ix, 18 and elsewhere

2 L von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*, p 199 ftn 3

3 P 84

4 Max Muller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* p 224

5 Popular Edition in two volumes (1914) I, p 95, ftn 1

connect the name Goha with the sanskritic word *guhā* (cave).[1] In fact we find the name of the race later on sanskritised as *Grahilote,* the insertion of the *r* being also paralleled in the word *kramelaka,* the Sanskrit form of the Semitic *kamel.* The great descendant of Goha, Bappā Rāwal, has had a large number of curious legends attached to his name. Some of these are probably echoes of the ancient traditions of his race. One such is the legend mentioned by Tod[2] that "he became an ascetic at the foot of Meru.....after having overcome all the kings of the West as in Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmere, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cafferisthan ; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called the Nosherya Pathans. Each of them founded a tribe bearing the name of the mother. His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number and were called *Agni-upāsi Sūryavaṃśi,* or 'sun-born fire-worshippers'." This legend, vague and remote, still does enshrine the echo of the ancient homeland of the Race of the Gohils and makes a fairly obvious link with the two words *Ahura* and *Kṛśana* found in the *Gobhila Sūtras.*

1 Op. cit., pp., 180 ff.
2 Op. cit p. 186.

AHURA MAZDA, THE KNOWING LORD,

BY M RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY OF RELIGIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME

In the well known lack of external *data* enabling us to fix chronologically even the chief points of the history of Zoroastrian religion we often are compelled to look for some internal *data*. Much need not be said to show the dangers of such a method of working as well as the problematic nature of results eventually reached by this way, lest any positive evidence is supplied from some other fields of investigation.

When did Zoroastrianism arise? To such a principal question no satisfactory and decisive answer, apart from Parsi traditional chronology, has been given till to day. Taking it that Zoroastrian movement arose, whenever that happened to be, as a protest against a traditional religion, existing among an Iranian nation the suggestion obviously occurs that the name of the Zoroastrian God *Ahura Mazda* must be a creation of the new religious spirit, a new name unknown to any ancient 'pagan' creed, reserved for Zoroastrians only and distinguishing them from followers of traditional faith.

If so, the divine name *Ahura Mazda* would appear as a token, i e as external and objective evidence of Zoroastrianism, and then some chronological inference could be drawn from it, as it seems in order to fix at least a term *ante quem* or *post quem* Zoroastrian religion must have risen.

Such a device has been really practised by several scholars, each of them practising it in some different manner. Finding Ahura Mazda in the god name *Assara Mazāš* which occurs on an Assyrian inscription of the time of king Assurbanipal (667 617 B C) but which phonetically represents a much more archaic form than *Ahura Mazda* itself, the German orientalist, Fr Hommel has thought of Zoroastrian religion as already existing at so early a date as that of the Kassite period of Babylonian history (1700 1200 B C)[1]

On the other hand the well known German historian Ed Meyer has thought that one finds good evidence of the name (*Ahura*) *Mazda* in the personal name *Mazdaka* occurring twice in a list of subdued

[1] See *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* 1899 127 138 f

Iranian (*scil.* Median) chiefs found on a clay prism of the Assyrian king Sargon (722-705 B.C.), inferring therefrom that Zoroastrianism shall have begun some centuries before, to speak in a round number, about 1000 B.C. at least [1].

Hommel's as well as Meyer's suggestions, however, prove to be rather faulty as for want of inner foundation,—the first because the identification of *Assara Mazăš* with *Ahura Mazda* is not so absolutely assured, as to be beyond all doubt, the other because, as I have put forth elsewhere [2], the personal name *Mazdaka,* by no means, necessarily involves the existence of *Mazdāh* as a divine name [3], because one must account for another very plausible explanation of *Mazdaka* as signifying 'the wise one,' from *mazdāh* 'wisdom.' [4]

Apart, however, from such an inner defect, it is plain that the whole of Hommel's as well of Meyer's argumentation rests upon the more or less clearly expressed assumption, that *Ahura Mazda* and Zoroastrianism are, so to say, correlative terms, so that wherever Ahura Mazda occurs Zoroastrianism is inferred and *vice versa,* no god called Ahura Mazda being conceivable as existing before Zarathustra.[5]

Such an assumption, however, is far from being generally accepted by scholars. For instance, Moulton was by no means disposed to admit it [6]. It rests, indeed, upon no external evidence, but only on some subjective argumentation, the unsatisfactory character of which has been alluded to at the beginning of this paper.

The very meaning of *Ahura Mazda* is, as we are taught by Iranists, 'the knowing Lord.' Does not such a name, of so perspicuous and transparent a meaning, being also so different in type from most of the traditional god names, and aiming to designate the deity by so lofty an attribute as knowledge, *resp.* all-knowledge, does it not bear evidence

1 See *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung,* 42, 1908, 1 ff.

2 R. Pettazzoni, *La religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell' Iran* Storia delle religioni,' 1), Bologna 1921, 22 f. Reviews of this book are to be found in *The Harvard Theological Review* 1922, 88 (by L. H. Gray), in *Deutsche Literatur-zeitung* 1922, 438 (by C. Clemen), in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1922 (vol. 85) 80 (by F. Cumont).

3 Such a plausibility has been also stated by Jackson (see Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* 30-31).

4 See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch,* 1162.

5 'Denn die Ansicht, dass es vor Zoroaster einen Gott *Mazdao* gegeben habe, halte ich allerdings für gänzlich indiskutabel'. Ed. Meyer, *l. c.,* 15.

6 'Whose (*i.e.,* Zarathustra's) claim to the authorship of this characteristic title (*Ahura Mazda*) must, I fear, be abandoned': Moulton. *Early Zor.* 31.

in itself of being a pure and genuine Zoroastrian creation, having sprung from the very spirit of the reformed religion, possibly from the genial mind of its Founder, the Prophet himself ?

Well ! All that is possible It is even simple and it pleases the fancy But is it *really* so ? That is the question

To such a question my paper is intended to bring a positive, though an indirect, reply, calling possibly, for the attention of professed Iranists to an amount of *data*, drawn from widest, no matter how distant, fields of comparative history of religions

The attribute of knowing, *resp* all knowing, far from being pre dicated solely and exclusively of the Zoroastrian god, Ahura Mazda, is, on the contrary, a common feature of many other divine beings belonging to the beliefs of different peoples

The first among them, which requires consideration, is a group of deities, which are by no means inferior in rank to Ahura Mazda

All knowing is God in Christian religion

All knowing is *Jahve*, the God of Israel and Juda As for Jahve let us refer to *Psalm* 139

" O Lord . . [2] thou knowest my down sitting and mine uprising, 'Thou understandest my thought afar off [3]Thou compassest my 'path and my lying down, and art acquainted (with) all my ways '[4]For (there is) not a word in my tongue,(but), lo, O Lord, Thou 'knowest it altogether [6] (Such) knowledge (is) too wonderful 'for me ; it is high, I cannot (attain) unto it [8] If I ascend up 'into heaven, Thou (art) there , if I make my bed in hell, behold Thou '(art there) . [12] Yea the darkness hideth not from thee , but 'the night shineth as the day the darkness and the light (are) both 'alike (to Thee)

As for Mohammedanism, *Allah* is 'knowing and wise' according to the Qur'ān[1] (*Sur* 9 60 , 24 57 f , 49, 7 , 60 10 , 66 2) Allah, 'both hears and sees' (*Sur* 49 1 , 58 2) 'both hears and knows' (*Sur* 2 224 58 , 24 59) Allah 'all things doth know' (*Sur* 24 35 , 48 26 , 49 16 , 64 11 , 57 3 , 58 8) Allah 'is witness over all' (58 7), Allah 'of what ye do is well aware' (57 10 , 58 3, 12, 14 , 63 10 , 64 8), 'on what ye do doth look' (60,3 , 48, 24 , 49, 18 , 64, 2) Allah 'knows the unseen things of the heavens and the earth' (49, 18), 'knows the

[1] *The Qur an* translated by E H Palmer, I, II (*The Sacred Books of the East*, VI, IX)

secrets in the heavens and the earth' (25,7), 'knows the secrets in the heavens and knows what they hide and what they manifest' (27.25). He is 'who knows the unseen and the visible, and He will inform you of that which ye have done' (62.8 ; *cf* 58.8). Allah 'knows the unjust' (62.7). 'Speak ye secretly or openly'—it is written *Sur.* 67.13—'verily He knows the nature of men's breasts' (*cf. Sur.* 57.5 ; 64.4). 'Verily He knows what is spoken openly and He knows what ye hide' (21.110). 'We created man'—so says Allah (*Sur.* 50.15)—'and we know what his soul whispers, for we are nigher to him than his jugular vein.' Allah 'knows what goes into earth and what goes therefrom, and what comes down from the sky and what goes up to therein, and He is with you wheresoe'er ye be' (57.4). 'Dost thou not see that God knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth ? and that there cannot be a privy discourse of three, but He makes the fourth ? nor of five, but He makes the sixth ? nor less than that nor more, but that He is with them wheresoe'er they be ?' (58.8).

Therefore Allah is addressed to as a witness and guarantee of oaths and covenants ; he knows who is about to violate them, and punishes him.[1]

Evidence of Allah as all-knowing is not missing even from the literature of pre-islamic times, as it appears from the passages collected by Brockelmann in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 21.1922, 99 ff.

∴

A thought, obviously occurring at this point is, that each of all-knowing gods quoted above, is the sole and supreme deity of great monotheistic religions, Mosaism, Christianity and Islam respectively, all of these religions having a prophetic origin, all having been founded by some great Prophet or religious Reformer, just as Zoroastrianism has been. Is it not then the case, that the attribute 'all knowing,' common as it is to the ideals of Divinity as conceived by each of the above named religions, has sprung originally from the highly inspired mind of a single one or of many of their Founders ? If so, the analogy then points to God's conception as the knowing Lord, even in Zoroastrianism, as having had a similar prophetic origin, as implicitly assumed by Hommel, Meyer, and others.

But the whole of the construction falls down, as soon as we are able to quote several other divine beings, all-being all-knowing alike, but nevertheless none of them having sprung from any religious intuition

1 See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*.

of an enlightened Reformer, but each commencing with the very beginning of the traditional and unreformed religion to which each of them originally belongs

For instance, the Chinese *T'ien* 'Heaven' or *T'ien Shang Ti* 'Heaven the Lord above,' is the uppermost deity of traditional religion of China having been conceived as 'a personal omnipotent omniscient and omnipresent being' (H A Giles *A Chinese English Dictionary* [1] III, 1387) That the idea of *T'ien* as knowing *resp* all knowing belongs to the very beginning of Chinese religion is highly probable some evidence of it being at hand in a classical book of Confucianism like the *Shi King* and the *Shu King* 'Great T'ien is very intelligent, Great T'ien makes no mistakes' (*Shi King* dec III od 3) [2] Great T'ien is intelligent, and is with you in all your goings Great T'ien is clear seeing, and is with you in your wanderings and indulgences (*Shi King* dec II od 10) [3] 'T'ien hears and sees as our people hear and see (*Shu King* part II, book III, 4)[4] 'What T'ien appoints is without error (*Shu King*, part IV book III) [5] It is T'ien which is all intelligent and observing' (*Shu King* part IV book VIII 2 1 [6]. 'T'ien sees as my people see, T'ien hears as my people hear' (*Shu King* part V book I, 2)[7] T'ien too is regarded as controlling faithfulness in swearing and observance of covenants [8]

To come now to a field which is in a geographical and ethnical connection with Iran, we find that in India knowing *resp* all knowing is attributed in Vedic hymns chiefly to god *Varuna* evidence being not wanting even of *Dyaus* having been conceived as *viçvaveda* 'omniscient' Varuna is 'the infallible one,' who 'knows the flight of birds through the air and the course of ships (on the water) who knows the way of the wind and is watching He, the all knowing over all secrets, all deeds and purposes, He cannot be deceived by cheats' (*Rig Veda* I 35, 7 f) 'If a man stands, walks or sneaks about if he goes slinking away, if he goes into his hiding place, if two persons sit together and scheme, king Varuna is there as a third and knows it[9] He that should flee beyond the heaven far away, would not be free from king Varuna His spies come hither (to the earth) from heaven with a thousand eyes

1 2°3f 2 Transl by J Legge *The Sacred Books of the East* III 416
3 *Ibid* 410 4 *Ibid* 56 5 *Ibid* 90
6 *Ibid* 115 7 *Ibid* 128 8 See Granet *La Religion des Chinois* Paris 1922 57 f On this subject see also V von Strauss u Torney, *Der altchinesische Monotheismus* Heidelberg 1885
9 Striking in the highest degree is the amount of likeness of this passage with *Sur* 58 8 (quoted above)

do they watch over the earth. King Varuṇa sees through all that is between heaven and earth, and all that is beyond. He has counted the winkings of men's eyes . . . (*Atharva-Veda* 4. 16, 2-4).2 [1]

∴

Vedic Varuṇa brings us very near to Avestan Ahura Mazda. The all-knowing of such a god as Varuṇa or Dyāus (with his indo-European counterparts, *Zeus*, *Jovis*, *etc.*,), paralleled with that of T'ien and other gods, throws a new light on the all-knowing of Ahura-Mazda himself (as well on that of Jahve, Allah and the Christian God).

'My name,' Ahura Mazda says, 'is the Full-seeing; my name is the Fullest-seeing; my name is the Far-seeing; my name is the Furthest-seeing; my name is the Discerner, my name is the Best Discerner; my name is He who does not deceive, my name is He who is not deceived; my name is the Wise One, my name is the Wisest of Wise' (*Yast* 1.12-15). 'O Thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda! Thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, Thou, O Ahura Mazda' (*Vendidad* 19. 20). 'O holy Ahura Mazda! I ask Thee; answer me with words of truth, Thou who knowest the truth, Thou art undeceivable, Thou hast an undeceivable understanding . . . . Thou knowest everything' (*Yast* 12.1). 'Not to be deceived is the all-knowing Lord' (*Yasna* 45.4). ' . . . . on all (that which is said above), with Thy glittering eye(s) as a righteous guard, Thou art gazing' (*Yasna* 31.13).[2]

Seeing is also the very root of Mazda's as well of Varuṇa's all-knowing. Both are knowing in so far as both are seeing. Seeing is a material act which needs of no superior enlightenment to be predicated of a supreme divine being. Far, then, from having necessarily sprung from the mind of any inspired Prophet, divine omniscience can be rooted, so to say, in the proper and essential nature of a god. In this connexion notice is to be taken that Mithra, too, is somewhere alluded to as all-watching, *resp.* all-knowing in the Avesta: 'Mithra, the Lord of vast pastures, who has ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra' (*Yast* 10.24). 'Mithra . . . . . who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake' (*Yast* 10.7). Why should the Reformer, whose purpose was the exaltation of Ahura-Mazda as the only god, have attributed all-knowing to another

---

1 Transl. by M Bloomfield, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 42.

2 Transl. by T. Darmesteter, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 23, p. 27

god than Ahura Mazda himself? Is it not much more likely that Mithra's omniscience is a late Avestan survival of the earliest conception of this god, as arisen in Indo-Iranian times?

As a matter of fact, Vedic *Mitra* is said to be ever and all-watching (*Rig-Veda* 3.59, 1). Likewise in the so often recurring association of Mitra with Varuna, the two gods together appear as all watching and never asleep (*Rig Veda* 7.61, 3). Even in the earliest written records of Indo-Iranian religion handed down from eventually pre-Vedic times (14th century B. C.), —— i. e. in the Boghaz Keui inscribed tablets formerly illustrated by Ed. Meyer in an already quoted paper, Mitra and Varuna appear somehow as watching gods, mention being made of them (as well as of other deities) in connection with the conclusion of a covenant between Mitanni and Kheta.[1]

All this makes it highly probable, that Mithra's omniscience has a remote origin, quite independent from Zoroastrianism as a religious Reform. On this matter the greatest weight is to be given to the close analogical evidence supplied by Varuna, for, according to all probability Ahura Mazda, as regards his beginning, is only the Iranian counterpart of Varuna, exactly as Mithra is that of Mitra. On the other hand, even looser analogies as those supplied by the above quoted monotheistic gods, are, by no means, of little significance as regards the general statement, that divine (all-) knowing is firstly (all-) seeing, a seeing from above, from which nothing can be hidden, it being the seeing of something or somebody situated at the uppermost height, everlasting and ever immanent on earth, as heaven, *resp.* Heaven, is.

∴

This general view, that heaven is the natural background in which divine omniscience is rooted, that all-knowing gods are heaven-gods, cannot be fully discussed here. It forms, at any rate, the working hypothesis of a research I am pursuing since many years, only the first Volume concerning the supreme beings of uncivilized peoples having been issued as yet.[2] For the purpose of the present paper I will restrict

[1] E. Meyer, *Die ältesten datierten Zeugnisse der iranischen Sprache und der zoroastrischen Religion.* *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 1908, 1-26.

[2] R. Pettazzoni, *Dio. Formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo nella storia delle religioni*, Vol. I: *L'essere celeste nelle credenze dei popoli primitivi*, Roma, Società Editrice Athenaeum, 1922.—See also my paper on *La formation du monothéisme* in *Revue de l' histoire des religions*, 1923, vol. 88, p. 193-220, being a Lecture read at the Congress for the History of Religions, Paris, 1923.

myself to produce, from the amount of evidence formerly collected, some typical *data* concerning all-knowing as predicated of primitive supreme beings. By that, I hope, the contribution of comparative religion to the question of Ahura Mazda's omniscience will be completed.[1]

Australia, South-east.—Baiame, a supreme being of the Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri and other tribes of New South Wales, is all-seeing and all-knowing.[2]—*Daramulun,* a supreme being of Yuin, Wolgal, and other, coast tribes of south-east Australia, observes from sky whatever men act.—*Bunjil,* a supreme being of tribes belonging to the Kulin nation (Victoria), sees everything and everybody.

Andaman Islands.—Puluga, the supreme being of Andamanese Islanders, is all-knowing: he knows even 'the thoughts of their (*i.e.,* men's) hearts', but by day only.

Malay Peninsula.—Amongst the Semang the belief is found in a supreme being, called *Kari,* or *Kare,* who is all-knowing: whenever men do ill, he knows it. Likewise the 'great quasi-deity' of the Sakai unfailingly knows human misdeeds and punishes them.

Asia, South-east.—Puthen (*Puthian*), the supreme and creator god of Kuki-Chin, Lushai and other nations of the Tibeto-Burman couch of Indo-Chinese population, is all-knowing and judges on men's actions.—Among the (more primitive) Khasi of Assam the supreme (female) deity *Synshar* sees and hears whatever happens on earth.—Amongst the Singhpho or Katchin there is the belief in a supreme being *Karai Kasang* who knows whatever men are thinking.

Indonesia.—The Batak of Sumatra[3] have a notion of a supreme deity (*Debata, Batara Guru*), who is all-seeing, hears and observes all human affairs, especially human conduct; above all he punishes oath breaking by means of lightnings.—*Lovalangi,* the supreme being of Nias Isl., is all-knowing: he watches over human conduct, and nothing is

1 Quotations of ethnological literature are omitted here: they are to be found in my Volume, *passim.*

2 *Cf.* the unnamed supreme being whose mention is made by J. F. Mann, *Aborigines of Australia* (1885) as of being ever watching, chiefly by night, and having innumerable eyes and ears, which enable him to see and hear everything without turning the head.

3 Hinduistic (as well Brahmanic as Buddhistic) influences have been strongly at work at Sumatra.—The general question of external (especially Christian or Mohammedan) influences on which eventually depends the belief in a supreme being among uncivilized peoples, is discussed in my Volume (quoted above) on *L'essere celeste nelle credenze dei popoli primitivi.*

Akposo beliefs, *Uvolovu* punishes oath-breaking. *Buku*, a supreme being of the Ana (Atakpame), is addressed to as a witness on swearing and cursing.—*Orisha*, a supreme being of the Yoruba, is omniscient.—Among the (islamized) Bambara, *Ngala* (or *Alla*) sees everything.—Among the Mossi, *Wende* is all-seeing; even if anything is done by night, he knows it.

North America.—Some features alluding to all-seeing, all-knowing Klallam children are usually said that they shall not do ill, because Heaven sees them), are to be found in several divine beings of North Pacific and Californian Indians, so f. e. *Nascakiyehl* of the Tlinkit. *Kmukamtch* 'the old one, our ancient Father' of the Clamath River. Indians —On the interior, amongst Carrier Islands (a nation of the great Dene race), *Yuttœre* is addressed to on swearing.—Omaha and Dakota Indians were accustomed to swear by their supreme being. The Chitimacha of lower Mississippi possess the notion of a 'Great Spirit, having neither eyes nor ears, but seeing and hearing and knowing every thing.' The Algonquin *Oke* (*Okeus*) is perpetually watching over human acts. The Huron too (belonging to Iroquian nation) have the belief in a supreme being; according to the account of the Jesuit Father Brébeuf (1635) the Huron "*l'appellent à tesmoin pour rendre leur foy inviolable, quand ils font quelque promesse d' importance, ou passent quelque accord ou traitté de paix avec l'ennemy. Voicy les termes dont ils se servent . . . . " le Ciel entend ce que nous faisons aujourd' huy.*"

Central America.—Amongst the Tarascos it is the Sun, who hears when anyone is pronouncing a lie.—Sun is addressed to by the Tarahumara, when they shall solemnly attest anything.—To the Huichol, Fire is the supreme being, who observes everything from above.

It is very likely that Sun and Fire have here taken the place of (shining) sky.

South America.—The Conibo Indians (Pano family) believe in a supreme being dwelling in the skies and watching from above over men's conduct; when an earthquake takes place, they suppose it is caused by the supreme being leaving for an instant his heavenly abode in order to glance at what is passing on earth.—The idea of a supreme being is not missing even among the Fuegians; they believe he knows every human word and act, nothing being concealed to him.

∴

To return now to Ahura Mazda, bearing in mind the whole of above mentioned evidence, the inference will hardly be avoided, I think, that Ahura Mazda's omniscience too has, according to all probability, a long

employed in religious language of pre-Zoroastrian times as qualifications of God accordingly to his different attributions or functions, they were choiced by the reformed religion as the only ones to be worthy of becoming typical appellatives of God.

That it was by this way that the Zoroastrian name of the Deity really came in existence, is strongly confirmed by the very fact that in the earliest stage of Zoroastrianism, as represented by the Gāthās, *Ahura* and *Mazda* occur in a loose connection : having not been yet joined together into a settled and unvaried form, they were not only left uncompounded as regards collocation and sequence (*Ahura Mazda* resp. *Mazda Ahura*), but they were sometimes even employed singly, the one without the other (*Ahura* resp. *Mazda*) to design God.

It is only in the more recent parts of Avesta that the divine name constantly appears as *Ahura Mazda*, sometimes (very seldom indeed). even as forming a single word, *Ahuramazda* (see *Vendidad*, 1). This coalesced form, *Auramazda*, is again the only one occurring in the Achæmenian inscriptions, from Darius I's famous trilingual inscription of Behistun onwards. In this connexion the following suggestion is possibly worthy to be put forth.

It is a long vexed and not yet solved question, whether the official religion of Achæmenian Persia, as evidenced by Achæmenian inscriptions, is to be regarded as being Zoroastrian or not. Being admitted, as I admit, that it is not, how is, then, the use of the name of the Zoroastrian deity *Auramazda* there to be explained ? First of all, it must be stated that notice of the term *Auramazda* being employed in Persia does not go beyond Darius I, evidence being missing at all as for the times of the first Achæmenian dynasty (Cyrus, Cambyses). On the other hand, there is, as it seems, reason enough to maintain that *Auramazda*'s name really was first introduced into Persian official use only by Darius I.

Let us remember that in the days of Cambyses (522) the throne of the Achæmenians had been usurped by Gaumata, the Magus of Media, whose theocratic government, however welcomed by subjected nations other than Persia, had proved rather vexing in religious matters (destruction of *āyadanā*). That from such a priestly zeal Zoroastrianism had had but ill to endure, is more than probable. One and the same being the fiend, Zoroastrians will have placed themselves naturally on the side of Darius as his very allies in the struggle for restoration against Median element as represented by the Magi.

THE GATHIC DOCTRINE OF DUALISM IN ARISTOTLE,

By Sorabji Navroji Kanga, B A

In this paper I try to see the Gathic doctrine of dualism in the Metaphysics of Aristotle, Ch VI, Book XI I am aware that neither the translator of the Metaphysics, Rev John H McMahon, M A, nor writers on Greek philosophy as Zeller in his Outlines of Greek Philosophy or Ferrier in his Lectures on Greek Philosophy have seen any allusion to the Gathic doctrine of dualism in Aristotle My attempt therefore in this paper to see that doctrine in Aristotle may rightly be considered a very bold one At any rate this attempt is a very poor one, seeing that I am not, in the correct sense of the word, a student of Aristotle's writings Fully aware of my incapacity I have restricted myself in this attempt to chapter VI of Book XI

Rev McMahon has noted that Book XI of Aristotle's Metaphysics is " more important as it contains discussions bordering more on Theology than any that have yet been brought before us " This book treats of the First Principles, and in doing so talks of the First Immovable Substance—God, defines God as an Immaterial Energy and then goes on to illustrate God's mode of operation, etc

And it is very important to notice that Aristotle himself in the very beginning of this Book XI declares that " to the truth of his statement bear witness also, in reality, the Philosophers of Antiquity, for they from time to time have investigated into the first principles, and elements, and causes of substance " And he goes on to say that while the " Philosophers of old have regarded singulars as substances, those, to be sure, that are Philosophers, now a days, have in preference sought to establish universals as substances ' Taking his stand point in this matter evidently on the Philosophers of Antiquity, Aristotle goes on to enumerate substances and states as follows on the subject of the Immovable Substance — ' But another substance is immovable, and this, some say, involves a separable subsistence amongst whom some make a division of it into two, ' I take it that here Aristotle has in mind the Gathic doctrine of Dualism, the doctrine of the two primeval spirits, Spenta and Angra, with the deity Ahuramazda as their source

And my attempt in what follows is to point out the "separable subsistence, and a division into two" of the Immovable Substance, the Aristotelian Deity.

We find the following at the end of Chapter VI. of Book XI of Aristotle's "Metaphysics":—

"But that energy may be a thing that is antecedent to potentiality Anaxagoras testifies (for the understanding subsists in energy) and Empedocles, in his theory about Harmony and Discord; and this is confirmed in the assertion of certain philosophers, as in the existence of perpetual motion, as Leucippus. Wherefore not in an infinite time did Chaos or Night subsist; but the same things continually were in existence as are in existence at present, either in a revolutionary system or otherwise, on the supposition that energy is a thing that is antecedent to potentiality.

1. Supposing a thing to be the same continually in a revolutionary system, it is necessary that something always should remain energizing in like manner.

2. But if there is likely to ensue generation and corruption, it is necessary that there be something else which continually energizes at one time in one way and at another in another.

3. It is necessary then, that it energizes in this way, no doubt, essentially, or from itself, but in a different way according to something else.

4. It must in this case energize either according to something that is different, or according to what is primary or original.

5. It is therefore necessary that it energizes according to this; for again is that a cause of energy both to this and to that other.

6. Wherefore that which is primary is superior as a cause; for that likewise was a cause, a thing's subsisting continually after a similar manner, and something else would be the cause of the subsistence of energy in a different manner; but of its subsistence always in a different manner manifestly would both be a cause." Translated by John H. McMahon (Bohn's Series).

As we are trying to institute a comparison between the Gathic and the Aristotelian accounts regarding dualism, we shall first turn to the Gathas, the most ancient Zoroastrian writings composed mostly by the Prophet Zarathustra—Zoroaster himself. The Gathic account is short and appears in two chapters, namely Gathic Yasnas 30 and 45.

Before turning to this account, it is necessary to see what the Zoroastrian Deity is like, as depicted in the Gathas. The name of the Deity is either Ahura or Mazda, both terms referring to the same personage. These terms form the one word Ahuramazda, as used in all the later writings. For the sake of convenience we shall here use the term Ahuramazda as referring to the Deity. We are told in the Gathas that Ahuramazda is the best and has no equal. He is a *paurvim* (Sansk. अग्रे) meaning that there is none beyond Him. He is the great Creator, who hears our prayers and answers them, who is our friend in need, who is always the same and who, on account of these and other epithets, thus comes up to the ideal of a Personal God. Ahuramazda is called in the Gatha *Spenishta* or *Spento temo* meaning the most bountiful. We now go to Yasnas 30 and 45 —

"Thus are the primeval spirits who as a pair and independent in action, have been famed. A better thing, they two and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. And between these two let the wisely acting choose aright. (Choose ye) not (as) the evil doers."

"(Yes) When the two spirits came together at the first to make life and life's absence, and to determine how the world at the last shall be, for the wicked the worst life, for the holy the best mental state." Yasna 30 3 and 4

"Yes I will declare the world's two first spirits, of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harmful. Neither our thoughts nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls, are at one." Yasna 45 2. (Translated by Mills.)

These two spirits are the Spenta and the Angra, ordinarily taken to mean good and evil, and of whom the former is said to be "more bountiful" than the latter.

As regards the question —' Whence do these two primeval spirits take their rise?' nothing definitely is stated in the existing Gathas. We can, however, sufficiently trace their origin from the Gathas themselves, without having recourse to the later Avesta. As already stated, the original words in the text for these two spirits are Spenta and Angra. *Spenta means bountiful, just as Spento temo, applied to Ahura Mazda,* means the most bountiful. We can thus see that whenever in the same context these two words appear, some particular meaning is sought to be conveyed thereby. The words Spento temo and Spenta, meaning respectively most bountiful and bountiful, show some kind of intimate connection between Ahuramazda and the former of the two spirits,

with this difference that Ahuramazda is said to be the most bountiful. The question now arises, what about Angra ? And now in this connection if we remember with Yasna 30, that these two spirits are primeval and form a pair, and that before the creation they came together, we can see that if one of them, namely Spenta, is somehow or the other connected with Ahuramazda, the other also, namely Angra, must bear some kind of connection with Him. That some of the later Avestan writings have taken a similar view may be gathered from Yasna 19 where Ahura Mazda calls these two spirits His own. And when we remember that these two have nowhere been said to have been "created" by Ahura Mazda, and when we find from the Farvardin Yasht that all beings including the Creator Himself have got Fravashis of their own, but that these two spirits alone have not got any Fravashis of their own, we can safely guess at the origin of these two, and state that they take their rise from Ahura Mazda Himself. This, of course, presupposes that these two spirits are not meant to denote mere abstract ideas but that they are entities in the strict sense of the word. This can be gathered from Yasna 30, 4, where they are said to have "come together at the first to make life and life's absence." The later Avestan writings had the same opinion about them, when they stated that these two spirits created or gave or produced the Creations. See Farvardin Yasht.

From the account given in the Gathas about these two spirits as given above, an important fact comes out to the front, and it is that on the material plane they work together, and that consequently both are useful and necessary for the purpose. Neither of them can work singly with any success. This can be gathered from Yasna 30, 4. But it is when they come to work on the moral plane that they must necessarily be supposed to be working in opposition to one another; and it is for this reason that then one of them, namely Spenta, is said to be better than the other. (See Yasna 30, 3.) And again it is for the same reason that in Yasna 45, 2, Spenta is said to be the "more bountiful" and Angra is the harmful. These texts constitute the doctrine of dualism as preached in the Gathas.

The object of this paper is to institute a comparison between the Gathic and the Aristotelian accounts of these two "spirits"—in other words of dualism. And it is best to remember at the outset that, unlike the Gathic account, Aristotle does not take any separate notice of the actions of these two on the moral as well as on the material sphere, but combines the two in his own masterly way with some subtle connecting link, which, however, is not quite clear on the surface,

We now turn to the passage in Aristotle quoted in the beginning of this paper. And it will be seen, as we go on in the exposition of the passage that not one word therein is redundant or out of place and that the sentences run as though they were following one another in their meaning.

In the first sentence beginning with "Supposing a thing to be the same continually, etc." Aristotle talks of that state of existence in which there is only "Being" but no "Becoming" and in which state of existence a "continuously energizing agency" is necessary to prevent things from lapsing into non being Now on a superficial examination *of this sentence one might be tempted to* identify this 'something that energizes" with the Deity, but this would not be correct, for it should be remembered that the Aristotelian Deity is the Immovable Substance As regards this "Immovable Substance" Aristotle makes the following remark — 'And between that which receives this (circular) motion and that which imparts it we must recognise the intermediate existence of that which, though the *source of motion*, is itself immovable' We have already stated that the two Gathic Spirits take their rise from Ahura Mazda, and it will appear, as we proceed, that this "Something that energizes" of Aristotle is akin to Spenta Mainyu of the Gathas, namely the more bountiful of the two spirits While we are on this subject of "Being" as opposed to "Becoming," it is necessary to state that in the Gathas no specific mention is made of this state of "Being," which evidently preceded that of "Becoming," namely of that state of existence from which spirit descended into matter But that Zarathustra was haranguing here about this former state of existence is now—perhaps for the first time—becoming clear We now see the force of the word "Aat," used in the beginning of paragraph 3 of Yasna 30 Translated by Mills —"Thus are the spirits primeval who as a pair and (each) independent in his action, have been famed (of old)" It is true that Mills has noticed that "very much more of the account existed before this, and that instead of there being one hymn like this, Yasna 30, there were probably many" Still exactly what that very much more consisted in does not appear to have been guessed by him. We however can now guess that Zarathustra was most probably talking of that state of 'Being" of which we have got an echo in the Bundahishna

We now go to the second sentence Having talked of the state of "Being" Aristotle now talks of the state of "Becoming" thus — "But if there is likely to ensue generation and corruption it is necessary that there be something else which continually energizes at one time

in one way and at another in another." Now, this "Something else" which energizes at one time in one way and at another in another is apparently a capricious being and may not unjustly be compared with the Angra of the Gathas—the second of the two spirits. These first two sentences in Aristotle thus remind us of the action of the two spirits of the Gathas, who, it must not be forgotten, are a pair and are both necessary for creation—or speaking in the words of Aristotle, "where there is likely to ensue generation and corruption." Thus in the Aristotelian account, in the matter of generation and corruption, two are necessary, namely the "something" of the first sentence and the "something else" of the second. And these two can be compared to the Spenta and Angra of the Gathas.

We now go to the third sentence. Having been told in the previous two sentences that the "something" and the "something else" have distinctive and separate actions of their own, so far as the state of Becoming or of "generation and corruption" is concerned, we are now told in the third sentence, that besides being distinctive and separate, the way of the energizing of the one, *i.e.*, "something," is different from that of the other, *i.e.*, "something else." From this third sentence we gather an important fact. We have been told that the "it," which is evidently distinct from the "something" and the "something else," energizes in one way essentially or from itself but in a different way according to "something else." What is then this "it" that energizes in different ways? This "it" is the energy itself of the First Immovable Substance mentioned in the very beginning of Ch. VI under our consideration, which while being the source of all motion itself, remains immovable. This Immovable Substance is the Deity of Aristotle. This "it," namely the energy of the Immovable Substance, then is the connecting link, as it were, between the two, the "something" and the "something else." It may be asked here what is there in the Gathas to correspond with this? The reply is that in the Gathas we have traced the source of the two spirits—Spenta and Angra—in Ahura Mazda Himself.

We now go to the fourth sentence. In order further to elucidate the meaning of the "it" which energizes essentially or from itself, but in a different way according to "something else" in the third sentence, Aristotle now goes a step further and identifies the "essential" or from itself with that which "primary" or "original," and thus brings "the something" that works in this essential way nearer to the source from which it took its rise than the other, namely, the "something else." What is there in the Gathas to correspond with this? And we find that the use of the word "Spenta" (Bountiful) as applied to the first

of the two spirits and that of the word "Spentotemo" (superlative of Spenta, meaning most bountiful) as applied to Ahura Mazda would indicate that some kind of closer connection is thereby meant to exist between them than between Ahura Mazda and Angra, the second of the two spirits And it is very curious to find that just as in the Gathas the question of any kind of connection between Ahura Mazda and Angra on the moral plane is quietly slurred over, and only left to be gathered, so in the same way the question of any connection between the "it" or the energy of the Immovable Substance and the "something else" in Aristotle is quietly slurred over or set aside and not *touched upon at all Why is this the case?* The *answer to this* question can be furnished by the apparent difficulty of explaining away the assimilation of the so called evil spirit with the Creator, in whom no evil can naturally inhere

We now go to the fifth sentence This sentence emphasises the point to which we have alluded above, namely, that the "it," which is the same as the Aristotelian Deity, is the "cause of energy both to this and that other" In the Gathic account it is the same the two spirits—Spenta and Angra—have been traced to Ahura Mazda as their source.

We now come to the sixth and the last sentence We have so far been told that one of the two, namely the something is primary or original We have now been told that besides being primary, it is "superior as a cause" And this again reminds us that one of the two Gathic Spirits, namely Spenta, is "more bountiful" and also "better" than the other, namely the Angra, and shows once again how closely the Aristotelian account seems to follow the Gathic Here the Aristotelian account is brought to a close, and we have again been reminded as in the first two sentences that this superior and primary this something by itself, was the cause of "a thing's subsisting continually after a similar manner," and that the "something else," by itself, would be the cause of the "subsistence of energy in a different manner", but that where things are always, i e, continually changing, that is, in a world of manifestations and phenomena, which are subject to "generation and corruption," both together would be a cause The phenomenal world is subject to the interacting forces of these two spirits, who are *both necessary on the material plane at any rate to "make life and life's* absence," as stated in the Gathas.

We have come to the end of our discourse We found that the comparison between the two accounts is very close Can we infer that

Aristotle, who appeared later in point of time to Zarathustra, was aware of the Gathic ideas on the subject? At any rate we notice that the Gathic account has not been improved upon by Aristotle.

To sum up the account of Dualism as I take it, as given by Aristotle, we find that Aristotle, in the beginning, talks of a state of pure "Being," in which there is no change, and in which state being or existence revolves continually in the same way. In this state of pure being there is the action of only one energizing factor. We may perhaps liken this state of pure being to the state of pure spirit that is, before spirit enters into matter, or passes into the state of "becoming." We have an echo of this state of pure being or pure existence in the Bundahisn, where the Fravohars are asked the question whether they would remain for ever in their unalloyed state or whether they would descend on the material plane, be subject to the opposing forces of Spenta and Angra, and thus once again regain in the end their former state.

After having referred to the state of pure being, Aristotle begins to describe the state of "becoming," where there is the action of both the factors, namely, of the "something" and the "something else," as in the text, and which two forces act, not in one way, but in two different ways.

There is, however, a unifying force, a force that energizes both the factors or the forces. This unifying force is the energy of the Immovable Substance, which is the Aristotelian Deity. And now the question arises, what is the connection between this unifying force on the one hand and the two forces on the other. The point is not at all clearly brought out in the account by Aristotle. However on a careful analysis of the account we can find that the two forces are not distinct from the unifying force, but that they are only two aspects of the same unifying force, or of the same energy. In fact, in the state of "becoming," the same energy works—but in two different ways. And we have already seen that in the Gathic account, the two spirits, Spenta and Angra, take their rise from the same source—Ahura Mazda.

MISCELLANEOUS IRANIAN NOTES,

By R P Dewhurst, I C S (Retired).

(*a*) There is an interesting passage in the Pazend text of the Mainyo i Khard, in which the treatment of the wicked man by Âharman (Angra Mainyu) and the demons is described The Pazend text (Chapter VII—verses 27 8 9 30), as transliterated by West, runs as follows :—

"U hast dânâ ku pa sardî êdum chuñ â i garmtum yah u vafra u hast dânâ ku pa garmî êdum chuñ â i garmtum u sozhâtum âtash ; u hast dânâ kushâ kharvastar êdum kharannenñd chun sag astukhan , u hast dânâ ku pa gañdai êdum be rêzheñd u bō ōfteñd " This passage is translated by West as follows " And he is experienced in cold that is such as that of the coldest ice and snow , and he is experienced in heat that is such as that of the hottest and most blazing fire , and he is experienced that they cause the kharvastar to gnaw them just as a dog does a skeleton , and he is experienced in stench that is such that they will scatter and will fall ' If this passage be compared with the facsimile of the Pahlavi text of the Mainyo i Khard edited by Andreas based on the Copenhagen manuscript it will be seen that in the Pahlavi each of these four verses begins with the words " U aito zivâk aigh ", meaning " And there is a place such that " and that in the fourth verse the Pahlavi has " barā larzhend " (they stumble) instead of " bō rêzhend "

Both these mistakes seem to have originated from erroneous readings of the Pahlavi the word " zivâk " (place) having been wrongly read as " dânâk " (knowing)

The word translated " ice " by West [illegible] , yah is in his vocabulary connected with the modern Persian یخ and a Zend word *isi* The latter word is found in the Avestan text of the Vendidad (Fargard IX, verses 6,7, and 9), but there does not seem to be any etymological connection between it and the Pazend yah and the modern Persian یخ The prototype of both of these words is clearly the Avestan word aēikha, which occurs in the Avestan text of one of the Yashts (XXII, verse 25), and is translated by " snow " in the version made by Darmesteter (S B E , Vol XXIII)

(*b*) In Chapter XXXVI of the Mainyo i Khard, in a graded list of heinous sins, the fifth is said to be " he star ramidan shkaned " which

West renders by "defeats the star influence" and a similar phrase (Chapter XXXVII, verse 13) "starî râineḍ" is translated "advances astrology."

The facsimile of the Pahlavi text gives for the first of these two verses "mûn sator râinîdârîh tebaruneḍ," and for second "satorîh râineḍ." It is clear from the Sanskrit commentary that they mean respectively "He who breaks off the progress of an adoption," and "facilitates an adoption."

(c) In the same list of sins (verse 27) the twenty-fourth is said to be "ke ô zan i kasā shahôḍ," which West renders "who goes to the wife of others." The Pahlavi text here reads "*mun zano-i* kârân vazlûneḍ," in which I venture to suggest that the word "zano", is not of Iranian origin, but borrowed from the Semitic, compare the Arabic زنا meaning adultery. The whole phrase will thus mean "Who frequents those who commit adultery," zano-i karan being a corruption of zinâkârân (modern Persian زناکاران).

(*d*) In two consecutive verses of the Pazend text (Chapter XXXIX, verses 30-31) the curious phrase "ô cha ôi padîred" occurs. The full text of the first of these verses is "u pa kâma i qesh ashahî ô cha ôi padîreḍ," which is rendered by West as follows : "And through his own desire for it also accepts piety." The Pahlavi text, according to the manuscript already cited, reads : "U pavan nafshman kâm aharâyîh val chavarman makdarûneḍ," which may be translated) "And at his own wish accepts righteousness on his neck (*i.e.*, as a yoke)." It seems plain that the scribe of the Pazend text failed to understand the rare Huzvaresh word "chavarman" or as West in his later period would have read it "chavarâ", which is derived from the Chaldee tsavvar (Hebrew צַוָּאר), and read the Pahlavi "val chavarman" as "val cha valman."

(*e*) There are some curious cases of what is termed dittography in the Pahlavi manuscript of the Mainyo-i-Khard. In Chapter II, verse 1, we find "pavan pavansukh" for "pavan pâsukh", *i.e.*, in reply. In Chapter VIII, verse 20, the word "râinâk", *i.e.*, impeller, is written twice. In Chapter XIII, verse 14, the scribe wrote "Vishtâst" by error for the proper name, but at once detected his mistake and wrote "Vishtâspŏ" correctly. The worst instance of dittography is in Chapter XXXVII, where the 27th verse is repeated in full. Again at the beginning of the 28th verse of Chapter XXXIX the words "u râmeshnŏ" are repeated. The only other instances, which I have detected, are in Chapter LVII, verse 11,

where the word "tishnakih" is unnecessarily duplicated, and Chapter LVIII, verse 7, in which the words "u tûbânkâr" have been written twice

(*f*) In the fourth column of the Persian inscription at Behistun the phrase "hamahyâyâ tharda" occurs five times, and in the fragment surviving of the fifth column the word "thardam" is also to be found Tolman translates the phrase ' in the same year," but King and Thompson render it by "always," taking "tharda" in the sense of "manner" Similarly in the fragment of the fifth column the word "thardam", which stands alone as the only completely legible word in the third line, is translated by "manner" by King and Thompson, while Tolman boldly supplies "thritiyam" by conjecture as the preceding word and renders the two words "in the third year"

It seems to me that the literal sense of the phrase is "the same way," and that Tolman's rendering leads to historical difficulties as it is far from easy to believe that in each case where the phrase is used by Darius in column 4 he was referring to an incident which took place in the very same year as the incident which he had first mentioned Etymologically both interpretations are possible as tharda may be either the Avestan caredha (Sanskrit शरद्) meaning a year originally an autumn a word of very common occurrence in the text of the Avesta or it may be the similar Avestan word "saredha ' (Sanskrit शर्धस्) meaning sort or kind, the genitive case plural of which (saredhanâm) occurs in the second Fargard of the Vendidad (verses 27, 35 and 41) and the Farvardin Yasht (XIII, verse 12) The latter word is to be found in its Pazend and Pahlavi forms in the Mainyo i Khard, for in Chapter XLII, verse 2, the question is asked "Mardum chand sarda hend ' (How many kinds of men are there ?) and the answer is given in verse 4 "Mardum se sarda hend " (Men are of three kinds) the corresponding Pahlavi verses being "Anshûtâ chand sardako homand" and "Martum taltâ sardakô homand," respectively.

(*g*) In the inscription of Artaxerxes found at Hamadan, which is now in the British Museum, the name of a deity is twice mentioned along with the names of Auramazda and Mitra, the actual letters of which in the cuneiform script are A, N, H, and T This has been conjecturally supplied with vowels and read Anâhita If this be correct, the word may be connected with the modern Persian ناهید, a synonym for the star Venus, and with the Avestan anâhita (undefiled) in the Avesta The positive form âhita (impure, filthy) has an abstract noun corresponding with it, [illegible] , ahiti, which occurs twice in the sense of "defilement"

in the Vendidad (Fargard XI, verses 9 and 12). It is connected with the modern Persian آهو in the sense of "fault, defect." In connection with the word آهو it may be mentioned that the Italian scholar Pizzi in his Antologia Firdusiana has made twice over the strange mistake of confusing it with the other word آهو meaning a gazelle. For example, he renders the hemistich (line 167 on page 97) از آهو همین کش سپیدست موی as follows : "E quantunque egli abbia i capelli bianchi delle gazzelle." The real sense is simply "His only fault is that he has white hair."

(*h*) In a short inscription of Darius at Persepolis the words "ardastâna atha(n)gaina" occur, which are rendered by Tolman "stone window cornice," and in two inscriptions of Artaxerxes the words "atha(n)gainam" and "atha(n)ganam" also are to be found. The word "athangaina" certainly seems to mean made of stone in all three passages, and it is tempting to connect the word with the modern Persian. سنگ Tolman in his Ancient Persian Lexicon supplies the link between the forms by quoting an Avestan word asenga, but I have been unable to trace any such form in the Avesta. An accusative form "asânem" occurs in the Bahram Yasht (verse 59), and this seems to be akin to the Vedic Sanskrit अश्मन्. The aphaeresis of short "a" at the beginning of words is a very common phenomenon, an instance being furnished by the identity of ناهید with anâhita, mentioned above, and another common instance is the proper name Nûshîrvân, the king famous for his justice, whose name means "of immortal soul," the first syllable corresponding with the Avestan word "anaosha" (undying), which occurs in the Mihir Yasht (verse 125).

(*i*) There is a passage in the fourth column of the Behistun inscription, the full sense of which seems to have escaped King and Thompson, and Tolman's rendering, though nearer the original, is not quite accurate. The text runs thus : "Tuvam kâ hya aparam imâm dipi (m) patidarsahytya manâ kartam varnavatâm thuvam mâtya (duruj) iyâhy" This is rendered by King and Thompson, "Whosoever shall read this inscription hereafter, let that which I have done be believed ; thou shalt not hold it to be lies." A more correct version would be "O thou, whosoever shalt read this inscription hereafter, let that which has been done by me convince thee, beware of holding it to be lies." This brings out the exact sense of "varnavatam" and of "mâtya."

PALACE RUINS AND CYRUS RELIEF PASARGADÆ,

BY HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, PH.D., S.T.D., LL.D.[1]

DEAN OF THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCE, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY.

North-east of Persepolis the Medus (modern Polvar) descends through a rocky gorge from Murghâb the site of the ancient Pasargadæ. It is true that Strabo places this historic city on the river Araxes (modern Band-i-Amir) called also Cyrus (Kur) but this name applies to the stream only after its confluence with the Kamfiruz below Persepolis. The Greek geographer has transferred the name of the latter to the upper tributary (cf. Curzon, Persia, II 80). The broad plain of Murghâb is guarded by low lying hills and is even to-day luxuriant in vegetation. The ruins lie at some distance from each other and include the massive stone platform on the side of the hill, a square tower like that at Naksh-i-Rustam, traces of a palace structure, a pilaster adorned with a winged relief and the gable roofed building standing on its stone pyramid with outline of a peribolos.

The oft recurring building inscription 'I Cyrus the king the Achæmenidan,' on door posts and antæ Weissbach persistently refers to Cyrus the Younger. His interpretation of the passage in the Elamite inscription at Behistan (Bh. L.=Bh. 4. 89 ff.) that Darius was the first to use the Ancient Persian script rests on no stable ground. What Darius means here is evidently that he caused copies to be written on clay (? *halat*) and leather (? *SU*, Jensen) and sent them into all lands. One fragment of these copies was found at Babylon by Koldewey, and

---

[1] It is to be regretted that, shortly after this paper was written, Professor Herbert C. Tolman, D.D., LL.D., died suddenly of heart disease on November 24, 1923, at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, where he had been Professor of Greek for thirty years and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences since 1914. He had just passed his fifty eighth birthday. Dr. Tolman was the author of a number of books relating to Greek and Latin subjects, and of various monographs on philological and archæological topics. But he is best known to Orientalists through his studies in the field of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions (*Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, 1908; *Ancient Persian Language and Cuneiform Supplement*, 1910) and as editor of the Vanderbilt *Oriental Series*, ten volumes of which appeared before his death.

now comes another, an Aramaic transcript, from Egypt. The fact that the Cylinder-inscription of Cyrus found by Rassam in Babylon (1879) and the small inscription (4 lines) of the same king found by Loftus (1850) in Warka are in Babylonian implies no more that the founder of the Persian empire did not inscribe the legend on the pilasters at Murghâb in Persian, Elamite and Babylonian, than their phraseology 'king of Babylon,' 'builder of Esagila and Ezida,' etc., warrants the assumption that Cyrus was not a Persian. Both the language and the phraseology simply illustrate Cyrus' political policy towards the conquered provinces. Even Darius himself uses an exceedingly polytheistic tone in his Greek Deirmenjik inscription in regard to his 'disposition towards the gods' (τὴν ὑπὲρ μοῦ διάθεσιν) when he addresses the Greek Gadates, and in this he was doubtless influenced by political considerations.

Certainly we must admit that the architecture and art shown in the ruins of Murghâb are more primitive than those of Persepolis (*cf.* Herzfeld, Pasargadæ, Klio, S. 1908). We see that the ground plan of the palace, the details of the pilasters and the columns, the style of the gable-roofed edifice, the composition of the winged relief, the subject of the sculptures, and even the manner of building have little or nothing in common with Persepolis or Susa. They seem the product of an art antedating that of Darius and his successors.

Somewhat to the south stands a rectangular pilaster about 18 ft. high. This single anta is all that remains of a building. It consists of three horizontal blocks of yellow limestone with a niche, hollowed on the sides for the joining of the clay walls and the upper part mortised to receive the roof beams. The brief building inscription written in Persian, Elamite and Babylonian ascribes the structure to Cyrus: 'I, Cyrus the king, the Achæmenidan'; 'Pers. *adam Kurush khshayathiya Hakhâmanishiya*; Elam. I *u Iku-rash* I *sunkuk* I *Ha-ak-ka-man-nu-shi-ya*; Bab. *ana-ku Iku-ra-ash sharru* I *A-ha-ma-nish-shi*'.

About the same distance to the south-east are several remains of what was evidently a palace. A single column of yellow limestone rises to the height of 36 ft. with diameter of 3½ ft. It is unfluted and without capital. Its base is cylindrical, of dark limestone and hewn out of the foundation. There are remains of three other bases in the same row, and those of a parallel row of four others (the fourth missing). Ruins of pilasters of dark limestone show what must have been a processional relief, but there are preserved on one piece only the claws of a vulture, and naked human legs and feet advancing towards the right; on another the bare feet of two men and the advanced

foot of a third the lower part of a long shirt like garment reaching to the ankles, and a front and rear leg of a horse Three antae are *in situ* with their ends grooved to receive the clay wall These angle piers bear the same trilingual inscription given above Herzfeld restores the outline of the building as a central hall divided by two rows of four columns each Its walls were clay brick with black pilasters bearing reliefs On the long side between two antae was an open antechamber with a row of four columns Two column halls similar in plan flanked the narrow sides of the central chamber Between the side halls and the antechamber were tower rooms (Sarre and Herzfeld Fig 83) The inference is that the building was an apadāna for state ceremonials

To the south-east 150 yards or so are the scanty remains of another building Traces of the bases of columns in two rows are seen The most remarkable remnant of the glory of the past is an isolated pilaster, ca 12 ft high, 5 ft wide, and 2 ft thick, sculptured with a bas relief totally unlike any other object in Persian art The figure is in profile, but not the face which seems to meet the gaze of the traveller (Jackson, Persia, p 282, n 2) and in the time of Ker Porter, as seen in his drawings, the trilingual legend above the head proclaimed the personality, 'I, Cyrus the king, the Achæmenidan The head bears an elaborate Egyptian coiffure Ram's horns branch right and left supporting a crown which consists of three branches of fastened reeds resting on discs and surmounted also by discs Ostrich plumes fill the spaces between the reeds, while two disc crowned serpents coil upward from each end The head shows a prominent nose, small eye and mouth, the ear set far back and surmounted by a ring which probably belongs to a head band, curled beard hair low on the forehead and plaited in braids which are cut square at the neck The right hand is raised at the elbow to the level of the shoulder in the gesture of address A long fringed robe and bordered with rosettes falls to the ankles The right leg is bent back, the left slightly advanced The feet seem to be covered since the toes are not apparent. Two pairs of overshadowing wings containing two rows of feathers proceed, as the profile represents them from the left shoulder, one uplifted, the other drooping reminding us of the reference in Herodotus (I 209) where they are indicative of royal attributes The double pair of wings is seen on Assyrian reliefs The crown is pure Egyptian as the coins of Byblos show Herzfeld would trace the origin of the composite figure to Syria where Assyrian and Egyptian art blended and spread over Asia Minor The garment agrees in all details with that of Teumman, king of Elam, on the relief from Asurbanipal's

palace at Nineveh, now in the British Museum, even to the same rosette border and heavy fringe. Since this is not shown in the sculptures at Persepolis, he argues that it must have been the dress at that period of Cyrus, king of Anzan, and his Elamite nobles (Sarre und Herzfeld, 164). Though fantastically idealized, it seems certain that we are looking upon the face form of the founder of Persian dominion.

The most northerly of the ruins is the massive terrace built of mammoth blocks, which is traditionally called the Takht-i Sulaimān, 'Throne of Solomon,' for that name is associated by the natives with the splendor of the forgotten past. Its plan is a parallelogram with the hill forming one side. Two of the sides have a great central recess, 168 ft., and at the corners are rectangular projections, the one on the left being 72 ft., that on the right 48 ft., while both returning angles extend 54 ft. The fourteen layers (38 ft. high) which compose the outer surface are of bevelled white stone so closely joined that no mortar fills the interstices. They were originally fastened with metal clamps which have long since been wrested out of their sockets, leaving a succession of unsightly hollows. Much of this outer layer has been removed exposing the inner masonry of dark limestone. We cannot suppose that this platform was intended for a fortress. Its situation does not favor this view. Neither would a fortress be built on such an architectural plan. It was evidently a terrace intended for the site of some sumptuous palace, and the projecting wings which we have described were erected for the plan of the staircases. But the structure was never completed. It was here, we can imagine, that Cyrus, or possibly Cambyses, intended to rear an imposing audience hall, had not the plans been interrupted by death and the transference of the capital of the Empire to Persepolis.

THE INDO-IRANIANS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

By Edward Joseph Thomas, M.A., D.Litt.

In the volume of *Papers on Iranian Subjects*, published in 1914 in honour of the Jubilee of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa, Dr. J. M. Unvala has given a valuable collection of evidence for determining the nature of the religion of the Parthians. He there touches on the origin of the Parthian people as being possibly Turanian. This question being outside the course of Dr. Unvala's argument is not worked out, but it does suggest a wider question, which is becoming more important with the progress of archæological discoveries in Asia Minor and Iran. This is the problem of non-Iranian influences on the Iranians in the pre-Zoroastrian epoch.

The discoveries that have been made are not only important in themselves, but are also making it increasingly possible to link up portions of evidence that have been known for a long time. The mention of the name Turanian, however, suggests the advisability of pointing out what the fate of this term has been in the history of western scholarship. The western and the traditional methods have not always been in harmony, and we have here a case which illustrates the need of caution when Western scholarship is appealed to. It is well, as Dastur Dr. M. N. Dhalla has said, not to allow clerical zeal to supersede the impartiality of a scholar, but it is necessary to remember that in what we call Western scholarship there are contained not only facts which have been brought to light, but also Western theories, some of which have not stood investigation. One of these theories is that of the Turanian peoples. The term seems to have been first introduced by J. Richardson in his *Dictionary of Persian, Arabic, and English* (Oxford, 1777). In his introductory Dissertation, p. xxx, he says:—

"The Tartars, Scythians, or Turanians (under which general names the historians of different nations have comprehended the inhabitants of that immense tract stretching from 53° to 130° East long. and from about 39° to 60° North lat.) have from the oldest times been remarked for a roving, irregular, martial life."

There is little doubt that Richardson took the name Turanian from the *Shahnamah*. We there find that Faridūn named his three sons Salm, Tūr, and Iraj. He made three realms, and joining Rūm with

the West gave it to Salm. The land of Tūrān he gave to Tūr, and made him ruler of the Turks and China :

دگر تور را داد توران زمین ∴ ورا کرد سالار ترکان و چین

Arabia with Īrān was given to Irāj. The actual legend is much older than Firdausi, as it is found in Bundahish XXXI, 9-12, and the three countries, Aryan, Turanian, and Sairimyan (*airya, tuirya, sairima*), occur along with others in Yasht XIII, 143, 144.

It is certain that quite apart from the actual legend we are here in the face of ethnological facts. The Turanians were a real people known to the ancient Iranians, and living to the East. But Western scholars instead of trying to determine these facts more precisely, used the term Turanian in developing ethnological theories that were quite independent of the very facts which justified in some degree the use of the name. This theory reached its extreme in the middle of the 19th century, and may be illustrated by the following statement of Baron C. C. J. Bunsen :

"The successful researches of Prof. Max Müller enable us to point out ......the progress of our science as regards all the languages of Asia and Europe which are neither Semitic nor Arian. I ventured in 1847 to write all these under the name of Turanian. Prof. Müller's discoveries will prove the truth of this view beyond the most sanguine hopes which could then be conceived. Moreover, the assumption of a connexion between the Turanian and the Chinese will be shown to be far from imaginary, although it is certain that the same opposition exists between the two as there is between organic and inorganic life."[1]

These sanguine hopes have not been realised. The name Turanian in Baron Bunsen's use became a blank label, under which it was convenient to include languages of any kind that were not Semitic or Aryan, and it gave a false appearance of knowledge by seeming to make a definite class ; whereas it was really determined by negations. It is no wonder that with the accession of more precise details the term Turanian, both as the name of a type of languages and as an ethnological term, has been dropped. Prof. W. D. Whitney [2] in 1892 declared that for a generation it had been a stumbling-block in the way of science. The real Turanian question is thus reduced to the problem of the influence

---

1 *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, Vol. I, p. 64, London, 1854.

2 *Max Müller and the Science of Language*, p. 49. See also the protest in W. Geiger's *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, translated by Dārāb Dastur Peshotan Ṣānjanā, p. 31, London, 1885.

of a definite people on the Iranians, and it is necessary to exclude the use of the term except in speaking of this people [1]

We now know that the ethnological relations of Asia Minor and nearer Asia in prehistoric times were much more complicated than was once thought, and the question of Turanian is in the background, as the centre of interest has shifted further to the West Entirely unknown languages and forgotten kingdoms have been recovered Apart from the Sumerian of Babylonia there is the Elamite of Susiana, the Mitanni of upper Mesopotamia,[2] and the much disputed Hittite of Asia Minor and Syria All these, except for the problematic Hittite are non Indo European languages, and they have brought two questions into new prominence what relations do the peoples who spoke these languages show to the Iranians or pre Iranians, and what light do they throw on the wanderings at the Indo Europeans ?

The most striking evidence so far is the discovery of cuneiform tablets at Boghazkeui in Asia Minor, some ninety miles east of Angora In 1907 Hugo Winckler found among these the names of certain gods that have been identified with the Vedic gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatyas (Asvins) The names occur in a treaty between the Hittite and Mitanni Kings of the 14th century B C and the language is Mitanni That there is any connexion with the Vedic names has been doubted by Prof A B Keith, who says that a certain amount of faith may induce us " to accept them as denoting Indra, etc , but that " these identifications must not be regarded as certain, though they may be correct " [3] If this is so, then any conclusion drawn from them would be still more uncertain, but the doubt is not very serious It is not apparently accepted by other scholars, and Prof Keith himself in his following discussion as well as in his paper on the *The early History of the Indo Iranians*,[4] takes them for granted He there asks, "are they (the gods and Aryan names) early Indian, or early Iranian, or do they belong to the period before Indian and Iranian were differentiated ? " Not only is the connexion with the Indian gods here granted, but another assumption is also made, which has been generally shared by scholars. It is assumed that the borrowing was on the part of the Mitanni, and the only questions raised are whether they were taken from tribes coming from India (Jacobi's view), or from Iranians, or from pre Iranians

1 As is done by Dr J J Modi who restricts the name to its proper use as found in Persian writings in his paper *Hunas in Avesta and Pahlav* Bhandarkar Commemorative Essays p 65 ff

2 *Cf* F Schachermeyer, *Zur geographischen Lage von Mitanni*, in Lehmann Haupt Festschrift, p 188, 1921

3 *Cambridge History of India* Vol I p 1 110

4 *Bhandarkar Commemorative Essays* p 81 ff

before the separation of the Indian group. But, as I have said elsewhere,[1] the question ought at least to be considered whether the borrowing was not from the Mitanni.

Evidently two peoples were in contact, and we know nothing about their relations which would lead us to suppose that the Mitanni were more likely to borrow than their neighbours. An argument has been drawn from the names of some of the Mitanni Kings—*Artatāma*, *Artashumara*, Dushratta. These names or, more strictly speaking, parts of these names, have an Iranian look, but even if we adopt the view that Aryan Kings ruled over non-Aryan Mitanni, what reason have we to suppose that the gods are Aryan and not Mitanni? Evidently none, unless we can prove the Aryan character of the gods from other sources. There is no *a priori* reason why the Aryans, like other polytheists, and like their relatives the Indians and Greeks, should not have borrowed. But the names of these gods have not been explained either in their Indian or Iranian forms. Indra and Mitra (Mithra) are both left unexplained by Bartholomae.[2] Nāsatya (Nāon-haithya) is just as obscure. The old derivation *na-asatya*, 'not untrue,' would be more convincing if there were any other example of a compound formed in this way, and if it would also suit the Avestan form. The identification with Gothic *nasjan*, 'to save,' explaining half the word, will deserve consideration when the rest of the name is accounted for. The name of Varuṇa is not usually recognised in Avestan, but M. Carnoy says that it is the Iranian Varena, which in Iranian, he tells us, designates the heaven in which the daēvas, 'gods, demons,' live.[3] This will scarcely be convincing to Iranian scholars without more explanation. As for the connexion of Varuna with the Greek Ouranos, the objections are that no common feature of the two has been proved, and that the forms of the names do not correspond. In the attempt to derive them from a common origin the form *worwanos* has been evolved, but it is simply a hypothetical monstrosity, which exists for no other reason than as a basis for another hypothesis. Even from the linguistic standpoint the form explains nothing, as a number of Sanskrit words in *una* exist, such as *nicumpuṇa*, *aruṇa*, *karuṇa*, etc., whose forms remain just as obscure as before. Now that the name has been found in company with other unexplained names, among a people who were certainly not Aryan, the probability of an Indo-European origin is still less likely.

1 *Vedic Hymns*, Introd. p 22.

2 The two latest attempts to find a derivation for Indra are W. Stede in the new *Pali-English Dictionary*, from Idg. *eid 'to shine,' both root and meaning being hypothetical, and Guentert from Russian *yadro*, 'kernel, testicle' (*Der arsche weltkonig*, p. 14).

3 *Les Indo-Européens*, p. 163, Bruxelles, 1921.

Another circumstance which tells against the traditional interpretation as Aryan nature gods is that although they are found in the Rigveda in company with real nature gods like Fire and Dawn, no agreement as to their interpretation has been reached. To the Indians Indra is a rain god. Hillebrandt makes him originally a sun god, and Guentert denies his character as a nature god altogether. The Indians in the time of Yāska were as much divided about the interpretation of the Nāsatyas as are modern scholars. Mitra, so far from being the sun god, has the eye of Sūrya provided for him, and Varuna is the righteous, the merciful, the protector of Law.

In the face of this it is surely incautious, not only to take for granted that the names are Aryan, but even to go on and draw inferences by treating this supposition as a fact. Still, whichever alternative is accepted it is clear that Aryans were here in contact with non-Aryans. Other discoveries have brought to light further evidence of Indo-European speech, and this still further west. In 1914 Prof. F. Hrozny began to examine a large number of the Boghazkeui tablets that are in a language which he called Hittite, and he came to the conclusion that the language was Indo-European.[1] Further investigations have somewhat modified these views. Dr. P. Giles in January 1924 read a paper before the Cambridge Philological Society[2] giving some of the results of later work on the tablets done by Dr. Emil Forrer. This investigator has discovered eight languages among the tablets, and has concluded that the language thought to be Hittite is some other undetermined language. Much of its vocabulary however is not Indo-European, though as the inflexions show, it is Indo-European in structure, just as English remains English, however much it becomes crowded with foreign words.

It is yet too early to see what modifications these discoveries will make on our theories of Indo-European, but they are enough to show that we shall have more data for their solution, and probably more difficulties to solve. The language of the Kassites (along the Persian Gulf), which has been asserted and denied to be Indo-European, may be expected to contribute. Dr. Friedrich Braun has recently drawn attention to the very schematic manner in which the Indo-European problem has been discussed.[3] It has been treated *in abstracto* apart from its possible connexions with archaeology and other linguistic types. We must find out, he says, within what wider ethnical and linguistic relationships Indo-European culture developed. He refers especially

[1] *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, Leipzig, 1917.

[2] Reported in *Cambridge University Reporter*, 4 March, 1924. (To be published later in the *Proceedings* for 1924.)

[3] *Die Urbevölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen*, Leipzig, 1922.

to the relations of Germanic to the Caucasian group (Georgian, etc.), and points out linguistic features which imply a very high antiquity for the existence of Germanic in Europe. His evidence is entirely against the view recently revived, that Indo-European culture originated in Asia. The discovery of Tocharian in Turkestan was the chief fact that led Feist to support this view, and the chief peculiarity of Tocharian brought forward was that it belongs to the centum-group (Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic), which did not, like Indo-Iranian, convert the k-sound into a sibilant. But, as Prof. A. B. Keith says, " when we remember the wanderings of the Gauls, it is quite unscientific to assert that the Tocharian speech could not represent a migration from Europe into Asia "—especially when we add that our knowledge of the Tocharians is 1000 years later, and the evidence of their literature more than 2000 years later than the Indo-European of the Mitanni period.

It will become less and less possible to make schematic theories of the migrations or spread of peoples, in proportion to the increase of our knowledge of individual facts which it will be necessary to explain. There are points of contact between Persian and Semitic on the one hand and Sanskrit on the other, which have long been observed. As long ago as 1892 Prof. Sir William Ridgeway compared Skt. *manā* and Hebrew *māneh*, and favoured an Indian origin.[1] Persian *karsha* and Pāli *kaṃsa* (Skt. *karsha*) may be related in the same way. This Persian word occurs in the Aramic papyri discovered at Elephantine (Assuan) in Egypt,[2] and it has been held that there is no evidence of its having come from Persia. But these papyri are direct evidence of a Persian source, as the Aramic colony in Egypt was due to the Persian occupation. That the word is not Aramic in origin, but Persian or ultimately Sanskrit, is made probable by the fact that it is not found either in Hebrew or in the extensive Aramaic literature of the Talmud.

It may be said in conclusion that we do not yet know whether the Iranian features in Mitanni are Iranian proper, or whether they belong to the period before the separation of the Iranian branch. But this branch may have been separated long before the peculiar features that distinguish the language from Sanskrit developed. The form *arta-* (if it is Iranian), as against Sanskrit *ṛta-* proves nothing, as we do not know the exact sound intended by the cuneiform script. In the names of the gods there is nothing specifically Iranian, but at least, if they are Iranian, they are pre-gāthic or pre-Zoroastrian, as we find Indra and Nāsatya not as daēvas, but as gods side by side with Mitra.

---

1 *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, Cambridge, 1892.
2 *Aramaic Papyri of the fifth century B.C.*, ed. by A. E. Cowley, Oxford, 1923.

AN ALLUSION TO MANICHÆISM AND ZOROASTRIANISM IN THE ARMENIAN WRITER EZNIG OF GOGHP,

By Vahan H Kalenderian a b , ll b , Columbia University, New York City

The writings of the Armenians in early times as dealing with the religion of the Parsis, as historically Persians, have an importance even though they are deeply tinged as Christians by a distinctly polemical tone In this connection attention has often been called to the Armenian controversial tracts against the heresy of Mānī, or Manes, who was a Persian by blood but whose teachings in the third century of our era were as much abhorred by the Christians as by the Zoroastrians themselves To both the followers of Zoroaster and the Christians Mānī was the embodiment of evil through his teachings

Among the many passages in the Armenian literature which deal with the subject, there is one in Eznig of Goghp (Yeznig Goghpatzi) Bishop of Pakrevant, who lived in the first half of the fifth century A D ,[1] which while well known by specialists, is worth translating anew into English from the original Armenian text [2]

Since the discovery of actual Manichæan documents in Turfan, Central Asia, fresh interest has been aroused in material in other languages that helps to throw light on Mānī's life and doctrines, as does the passage

[1] Yeghdz Aghantotz, the book on Heresies of Eznig is one of the most notable works of the ancient Armenian literature It was written most probably in 441 9 A D (Concerning the time when Eznig wrote his treatise, see the article in Bazmaveb Hantisaran, for 1898, published by the Mechitarists of St Lazar, pp 147 and 261 266) In this book Eznig gives an interesting account of the various forms of worship among the ancients, and includes a summary of the creeds of the Persian ' Fire worshippers ' and other heresies, as well as the doctrines of the Greek philosophers and those of the Marcionites and Manichæans

[2] A French translation of this passage is available in Langlois, Collection des Historiens de L'Armenie, Volume 2, pp 357 to 376, Paris, 1869 , a German translation by J M Schmid, Eznig Von Kolb, pp 94 to 95 published in Vienna, 1900, and there is also an earlier version, English, by A Aganoor in John Wilson's The Persian Religion, p 543, published in Bombay, 1843, which book is very scarce There have been a number of Armenian editions by Mechitarists of St Lazar, Italy and of Vienna

here translated from Eznig of Goghp, which will be of service to Iranian scholars who may be working on Manichæism and its connections with Zoroastrianism.

This passage, controversial in its treatment, points out a similarity between Zoroastrianism and Manichæism with reference to the doctrine of Light and Darkness, at the same time giving some characteristic differences between the two religions.

The rendering here made is from the edition of Eznig that was printed in 1914, at the press of the Armenian Academy of St. Lazar, Italy, and which was based upon an Armenian manuscript dated in 729 A.D.[1] The translation is made fairly literal, and some notes are added by way of reference and explanation.

TRANSLATION.

"It was not at all necessary to answer such foolish, false and groping statements of patched (*i.e.*, dull) minds, because their very stupidity was sufficient to bring them into reproach, and their statements are self-contradictory and opposed to each other.

"But since the leaders of their religion [*i.e.*, Persian] appear to be held in high respect by their followers who are lassoed (*i.e.*, caught) and dragged by them to the abyss, it seems necessary to answer them and to point out that they say nothing more than what Mānī said, whom they themselves flayed.

"Because he (Mānī) speaks of Two Roots,[2] good and evil, and this not by conception and by birth, but self existing and opposed to each other and they [the Persians] say the same thing [*i.e.*] by means of conception and birth through the desire of Zrwan. And if it is the same religion for both, why do the Magians hate the Zandiks (Manichæans)? [They hate them] because they differ from each other by their conduct, by appearance, although not in fact. By religion both are the same; those (the Manichæans) recognize Two Roots and these (the Magians) recognize the same. Those are worshippers of the Sun, these are servants of the Sun. Those (*i.e.*, the Manichæans) believe that all inanimate things have life, these (*i.e.*, the Persians) assert the same thing in the same way.

---

1 See Yeghdz Aghantotz, Book 2, pp. 134-136.

2 Yeznig uses the word *armad armades* (meaning 'root,' 'roots'). See dictionaries: Artzeren Pararan, p. 142, Venice, 1868; and Haigazyantz Pararan, Vol. 1. 1836-1837.

"But because Mānī wished by pretensions to show a mode of conduct superior to theirs, [and caused them to believe] that he is devoid of all essential desires, and that he is superior not only to them but to all other religions, he was faced (*i e*, exposed) to the temptation [1] of maidens and was flayed and killed"

COMMENTS

By way of special comment it may be observed in the first place that we have here an allusion, already well known, to philosophic doctrine of the two fold origin of the Universe, a conception through which Zoroastrianism exercised an influence upon later religious systems, especially Gnosticism To be noted is the Armenian expression 'two roots' (*yergoo armadəs*) employed by Eznig, who was familiar with Greek writings against Manichæism The Greek author Titus of Bostra (370 A.D) had used similar expression 'there were two roots' ('ῥίζαι see edition by Lagarde, p 73, line 5), and I am informed by Professor A V W Jackson that the Turfan Turkish Manichæan Fragments employ a similar designation, 'two roots', and that the term used in the Pahlavi Turfan Fragments is *do bun* 'two foundations, origins, principles,' *i e*, 'roots'

The second point to be observed is the reference to 'Zrwan,' because the doctrine of Zervanism was rife in early Sasanian times

The next item draws attention to a certain similarity between the two religions in regard to the reverential attention paid to the Sun The further parallel which Eznig of Goghp draws with reference to 'inanimate' things, rightly applies to certain particular doctrines in Manichæism, but only indirectly to Zoroastrianism unless the reference be to the care not to defile earth, fire and water

The allusion in the last paragraph of the Armenian passage is to be explained by Mani's own ascetic manner of life and the austerity which his religion, as a rule, inculcated The reference to Mani's meeting his death by flaying is in harmony with most accounts of the manner in which he came to his end

From this passage of Eznig of Goghp one would infer that Mānī appeared to be in certain respects an ascetic reformer through his religious doctrines, and we can understand how opposed this pronounced ascetic aspect of his teachings was to the wholesome and reasonable view of life held by Zoroastrianism.

---

[1] In Armenian this word literally means 'tickling, irritation'

A NOTICE OF MANICHÆAN PERSECUTION BY THE SASANIAN KING KAWĀD IN THE FIFTH CHRISTIAN CENTURY,

By Abraham Yohannan, ph d., Columbia University, New York City

---

Interest in Manichæism, which was once a rival of Zoroastrianism and of Christianity, has been especially aroused in recent years through the discovery in the oasis of Turfan, Central Asia, of fragments of the writings of Mānī himself Allusions to Mānī, who was a 'Fiend Incarnate' in the eyes of the Pahlavi writers, are nevertheless worth recording, from whatever source they may come

In one of the somewhat less known Syriac authors I have come across a reference to the persecution of the Manichæans by the Sasanian King Kawād who reigned 488 531 A D, and was the father of Khusro I, famous as Anūshirwān the Just It seems not out of place therefore to translate this Syriac passage, as it may not be so readily available to Iranian scholars

The passage occurs in a twelfth century Syriac chronicle, entitled 'Ktehabha de Makhtbhānūth Zabhni' The name of the author, who was a Jacobite writer, is unknown, but internal evidence shows that he could hardly have much outlived the century named The text of this work is available in an edition by Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, *Chronicon Civile et Ecclesiasticum Anonymi Auctoris*, Mount Lebanon 1904 The short excerpt here selected from the various annals is found on p 116 of the edition (= folio 100 verso, of the Syriac manuscript) It relates to the reign of Kawād and may be literally translated as follows —

> 'At this time (in the reign of Kawād) when the doctrine (lit persuasion) of the Manichæans (Syr Mānīnāyī) had taken hold in Persia Qubād (Kawād) king of the Persians, committed his son Khusro to (the care of) the Manichæans to learn reading from them The boy (Khusro) made a covenant with the Manichæans, that, if he should rule, he would make their religion paramount And when the royal youth, together with his mother, entered into the presence of Qubād, they asked him to make his son king

during his (Qubād's) lifetime, just as the Manichæans had planned. When the King made an investigation, he was told that the Manichæan Christians had made this plan in the interest of his son. He (Qubād) sent for the Bishop of the Manichæans and said to him: "It is in my favor that you have considered this idea, because you love me and my son. Now summon all the Manichæans, the adherents (lit. sons) of your religion who have thought about the sovereignty of my son." When the Manichæans proudly presented themselves, the King gave order that they all should be put to the edge of the sword. Not one of them was left, and their churches were given to the Orthodox.'[1]

Now a question may be raised as to whether the name 'Manichæans' may not be applied rather in a general way to the Mazdakites, who were especially persecuted by Kawād and his son Khusro I. On the authority of Nöldeke such an interpretation has been used in connection with similar allusions in the Greek Byzantine writers, Malalas and Theophanes.[2] Such a view, however, may be pressed too far for the following reasons :—

First.—It is clear from the late Zoroastrian Patristic Literature, in the Pahlavi of Sasanian and Post-Sasanian times, that Manichæism still played a considerable rôle in Persia in the fourth and fifth centuries, and may well have come in for persecution like the rest of the antinomian sects.

Second.—The allusion to the 'Bishop' seems particularly Manichæan, as does also the reference to the fact that their churches were given over to the Orthodox (*i.e.*, Christians). We nowadays know well that the Manichæans had regular places of worship, temples, or the like, which could be confiscated in this manner.

Judged in that light the passage has significance in showing the persistence of Manichæism in Persia down to this period, despite the severe persecutions to which it was subjected.

1 This refers to the Christians who were found in Persia at this time. *Cf.* Nöldeke, Gesch. der Perser, etc., p. 463, Leiden, 1879.

2 See Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser aus Tabari, p. 462, 463. Compare likewise J. J. Modi, 'Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist,' p. 120, note 1, in Memorial Papers, Bombay, 1922 ; *cf.* also E. Colby, 'Religion and Politics in Early Persia', p. 410, notes 38 and 41, in The Open Court (vol. 36, no. 7), Chicago, 1922. For the texts of the Byzantine authors referred to, see Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Niebuhr, p. 444, Bonn, 1831 ; Theophanes, *Chronog.*, ed. Goar and Cambef, p. 145, Paris, 1605; *cf.* also Classen, p. 92 (text p. 261), Bonn, 1846. The accounts of this 'Manichæan' persecution by both these writers is more detailed than that in our Syriac passage.

If, on the other hand, it be maintained that the reference is rather to the Mazdakites, we may in any case add that the Mazdakite movement was strongly influenced by Māni's teachings, and it was in certain respects a refurbishing of Manichæism, combining political aspects with a religious basis

Whatever opinion may be held on the subject it seems appropriate at least to draw attention to this out-of-the way Syriac passage, because of its distinct bearing on events in the reign of Kawād and Anūshirwān as Sasanian rulers

THE ZOROASTRIAN DEMON ĀZ IN THE MANICHÆAN FRAGMENTS FROM TURFAN.[1]

By George C. O. Haas, A.M., New York City.

In a chapter on the Zoroastrian conception of the realm of darkness and the hosts of hell by Jackson in *Die iranische Religion*[2] (in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 616-668, Strassburg 1896-1904) there is presented a full discussion of the *daēvas* and *drujes* in Avestan and Pahlavi literature. Since that date interesting light has been thrown on the subject by the discovery, in the oasis of Turfan in Eastern Turkistan, of extensive remains of the lost Manichæan literature, written in Middle Persian (the so-called 'Turfan Pahlavi'), in Old Turkish, and in Chinese. In these texts occur the names of numerous demons, such as Aharmēn, Parigān, 'Azdahāg 'i Mazan (i.e., Mazanian), and the like, whose attributes will repay careful study, especially from a comparative point of view. The present paper deals merely with one of their number, the demon Āz, whose counterpart in Zoroastrianism, Avestan *Āzi*, Pahlavi *Āz*, is well-known as the personification of Greed, Personal Craving, Covetousness (see Jackson, *Die iranische Religion*, page 660, § 13).

The principal publications to which reference is here made are the following:

F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan*, part 2, in *Abhandlungen d. kgl. preuss. Akademie des Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1904. [Mü. 2.]

C. Salemann, *Manichaica III-IV*, in *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, St. Petersburg, 1912. [Sm.]

A. von LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, parts 2 and 3, in *AbhKPAW*, Berlin, 1919, 1922. [*Türk. Man.*]

In the Turfan Pahlavi texts the name of the demon Āz and words derived from it occur in the following passages:

M. 472 r, 16 (= Mü. 2, p. 18 middle) *āz 'ud Aharmēn*
M. 470 r, 6 (= Mü. 2, p. 20 top) *'a āz 'ud dēvān*

1 Grateful acknowledgment is here made of the stimulating instruction of Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, with whom I have often pored over these fascinating texts.

2 I am informed that this work, which was translated into German for publication in the *Grundriss*, is shortly to be published in its original English form.

M. 477 v, 21 (= Mü. 2, p. 22 middle) *'ō mān Āz — — —* ('to us, Greed')
M. 475 v, 17 (= Mü. 2, p. 13 middle) *Āz 'ūd Avarzōg*[1]
M. 477 v, 10 (= Mü. 2, p. 15 bottom) *va Āz va Avarzōg nazār*
M. 4, p. 2, l. 15 (= Mü. 2, p. 53 middle) *ač Āz nabēn ač Avarzžōg vadēsgār*
S. 9 b 3 (= Sm. p. 9 top) *Āz (' ' z) 'ī darvand*
S. 13 a 6 (= Sm. p. 18 bottom) *sīrid-ānād Āz*
M. 473a v, 2 (= Mü. 2, p. 23 middle) *mardōhm 'īg āzēgar* (adj.)
M. 477 r, 7 (= Mü. 2, p. 14 bottom) *āz qām* (= *āz-kām*, adj.)
M. 97 d, 20 (= Muller, *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1080, in *SbKPAW*. 1905 *āzēgariy* ('action through Greed')

It will be observed that in these passages the fiend Āz is in most cases mentioned in connection with Aharman or other demons, particularly Avarzōg, 'Concupiscence.'

This demon Āz appears in the Eastern Turkish Manichæan Confession as *Az yäk*, 'Greed-demon,' LeCoq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 19 and p. 30; and often alongside of *Sōk yäk*, 'Envy-demon,' the latter having the standing epithet *toḷunčsuz ovutsuz*, 'insatiable and shameless,' see LeCoq, 'Khuastuanift,' in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 281, 295, 297, 298 = LeCoq, 'Chuastuanift,' in *AbhKPAW*, 1912, p. 9, 20, 24, 25. So also *Az, ofutsuz Suq yäk* in LeCoq, *Türk. Man.* 3, p. 29; note furthermore the derivative form *azing* in *Türk. Man.* 2, p. 7. Āz corresponds likewise to the Chinese *T'an-mo*, 'Covetousness,' in the Chinese Manichæan Treatise, ed. and tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*, 1911, p. 523, 528, 529, 533, and (combined with the demon 'Concupiscence') 537 (*cf.* 538); consult also the valuable note, *op. cit.*, p. 523, n. 3.

Throughout Manichæism the demon Āz is one of the most malicious and inveterate of the Powers of Darkness. From the very beginning he is represented as struggling against the life of Primal Man, who corresponds to the idea of Gaya Maretan in Zoroastrianism. In the Manichæan Fragment S. 9 b, line 3, above referred to, the wicked demon Āz (TPhl. *Āz 'ī darvand*) is 'strained out' from his soul. In an indirect manner we have in Vendīdād 18.19 an allusion to the way in which 'the demon-created Āzī appears to be cutting off the life of the fire from its thread.' There is thus a certain similarity in the malevolent nature of this demon in the two religions.

In the Arabic account of the judgment of the soul of the Elect after death, as described by an-Nadīm in the Fihrist,[2] there appear, among

[1] For another occurrence of the name Avarzōg, see M. 177 r, 4 (= Mü. 2, p. 88 middle). As far as the idea is concerned, Avarzōg seems to correspond to the female creature of lust called Jahi in the Avesta, Jēh in Būndahishn 3. 3-9; *cf.* Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 664, § 5.

[2] See the passage in an-Nadīm's Fihrist, translated by Flugel, *Mani*, p. 100 (text, p. 70).

the number of demons especially the two demons of Greed and Concupiscence (Arabic *al-Hirs wa ash Shahwa*) This demon of Greed (*al Hirs*) corresponds throughout to the Āz of the Manichæan Fragments

In one of the Manichæan Pahlavi passages referred to in the list above Āz and Aharman are mentioned side by side (M 472 r 16 = Mu 2, p 18 middle) We recall that in Bundahishn 30 30 it is stated that the two fiends, Aharman and Āz, remain at large, as the last demons to be routed at the end of the world In Manichæism the Powers of Darkness and Evil assemble for a final conflict and are similarly routed by the Powers of Light and Good[1] Now in the Manichæan passage preserved in Arabic 'the Spirit of Darkness' only is expressly mentioned by name in this connection but we may feel certain that so prominent a demon as Āz assuredly was in Manichæism must have been among that diabolical band in the struggle

Further study of the terms used in Christian writings such as ἐπιθυμία *concupiscentia* in Hegemonius *Acta Archelai* (ed C H Beeson Leipzig 1906 p 18, 2, 19 11, twice, 20 5, 21 3) may possibly lead to the conclusion that 'Concupiscence' is the better rendering for Āz (in spite of *JA*, 1911 p 524 n) That however is beyond the scope of the present paper

It is thus evident that the pervading character of the Zoroastrian influence on Manichæism numerous aspects of which will be discussed by Professor Jackson in a work now in course of preparation (to be entitled *Studies in Zoroastrianism and Manichæism*) finds one additional point of exemplification in the correspondence between the Zoroastrian fiend Āzi and the Manichæan demon Āz

---

1 See the account in the Fihrist, Flügel *Mani*, p 90

THE ACCOUNT OF ZOROASTRIANISM GIVEN BY THE BYZANTINE HISTORIAN AGATHIAS.

BY CHARLES J. OGDEN, PH. D., OF NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A

Although Sasanian Persia and the Roman Empire were neighbouring powers for four hundred years, their political relations, uncertain at best and often actually hostile, were not such as to promote a mutual appreciation of cultural attainment and of spiritual life. Hence it has come about that the Greek and Latin historians of the period, who narrate at length the wars and negotiations between Rome and Persia, make in general but little mention of the religion of their opponents. All the more interest attaches, therefore, to the few descriptions they have given of Zoroastrianism in Sasanian times, and among these the account that the Byzantine historian Agathias (about 536—582 A.D.) has left us is both the fullest and, on the whole, the most intelligent.[1] This versatile author, a lawyer by profession, was by preference a poet in his earlier years, but in his maturity he undertook to continue the celebrated history that Procopius had written of the wars of the Emperor Justinian. His work, in five books, records the events of the years 552 to 558 only, death having apparently interrupted the completion of the task.

For Sasanian history Agathias claims to possess excellent sources of information, inasmuch as he says (Bk. 4, ch. 30) that he has taken his account of that dynasty from the Persian annals themselves, which were excerpted and translated for him by his friend the interpreter Sergius.[2] It may be doubted, however, whether he had at his disposal data of equal authority for the Zoroastrian religion, since he makes

---

1 The fullest collections of the classical sources are those made by L. H. Gray, in A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster*, Appendix V, pp. 226–273, New York, 1899, and by Carl Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis Persicae*, Bonn, 1920. The former, which comprises only passages mentioning Zoroaster's name, gives but one excerpt from Agathias (at pp. 248–249), the latter (pp. 99–103) contains all the passages in which Agathias makes any reference to Iranian religion and customs.

2 See also Bk. 2, ch. 27 where he says that the story he gives concerning the lineage of Ardashir Papakan is held by the Persians to be true "as being recorded in the royal parchments." The depreciatory character of the tale manifestly disproves his assertion in this case.

no reference to any of the sacred writings. Furthermore, although Agathias seems not to have been a convinced Christian and has therefore no theological bias against Zoroastrianism, he is still under the spell of the old Greek tradition of a thousand years' standing, which despised or at least affected to despise the ideas and customs of the "barbarians." His lack of a correct historical perspective, inevitable in his day, and his addiction to a florid style are other limitations that detract from the worth of his testimony. Nevertheless, since his history has not yet been made accessible in an English translation, a rendering from the original Greek of the passage in which he describes the Zoroastrian religion may possess some interest for Iranian scholars.

The subject is introduced in the form of an excursus, a device of which Agathias is fond, the death of the Persian general Mermeroes giving him the occasion to describe the Persian custom of disposing of the dead, after which he goes on to inveigh against that of consanguineous marriages, and argues that both these practices had not prevailed in ancient times. He then continues as follows :[1]

TRANSLATION.

"But the Persians of the present day have neglected and even reversed practically all their former customs, and they observe a different and, as it were, spurious set of usages, having been beguiled by the teachings of Zoroaster [the son] of Ormasdeus. Concerning this Zoroaster or Zarades (for both names are applied to him) it is impossible clearly to ascertain just when he reached the height of his power and established his laws. The Persians nowadays say simply that he lived in the time of Hystaspes, without further qualification, so that it is altogether uncertain and not to be known whether this Hystaspes was the father of Darius or a different person. At whatever time he did flourish, Zoroaster became their guide and leader in the Magian worship, and, changing the former ritual itself, he introduced a confused and heterogeneous set of doctrines. For of old time they used to reverence as gods Zeus and Kronos, in fact, all those who were celebrated among the Greeks, except that they did not keep the same appellations, but called Zeus, as it chanced, Belos, and Herakles, Sandes, and Aphrodite, Anaitis, and the other gods by other names. (Thus it is related by Berossos the Babylonian, by Athenokles, and by Simakos, who have written the ancient history of the Assyrians and the Medes.)

---

[1] See Bk. 2, latter part of ch. 24 and beginning of ch. 25, ed. B. G. Niebuhr, pp. 117-119, Bonn, 1828 (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 3); reprinted in Clemen, *Fontes*, pp. 100-102, the first portion also in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 248-249.

'Nowadays, however, the Persians agree for the most part with those who are called Manichæans, in so far as they believe that there are two first principles, and that the one is both good [in itself] and has brought forth the fairest things in existence, whereas the other is contrary to it in both respects To these principles they apply barbarous names framed according to their own language, for they call the Good One, whether he be god or demiurge, Ormisdates, but Arimanes is the name of him who is most evil and baneful As the greatest of all festivals they celebrate the so-called "destruction of evil things," in the course of which they slay a great number of creeping things and of other creatures that are wild and live in waste places and bring them to the Magi as if for a proof of their piety In this way they believe that they accomplish what is pleasing to the Good One but vex and hurt Arimanes They have a special veneration for water so that they do not even wash their faces in it nor touch it otherwise except for drinking and for the care of plants

[Ch 25] "They have many other gods whom they call by name and propitiate, as the Greeks do They practise sacrifices and purifications and divinations, likewise a Greek custom Fire is thought by them to be worthy of reverence and most holy, and hence the Magi guard it, without letting it be extinguished, in certain edifices that are quite sacred and set apart It is to fire that they direct their gaze when they celebrate their secret rites and inquire concerning the future This usage, I think, they derived either from the Chaldeans or from some other race, since it does not agree with the rest After this fashion, then, their religion is a most heterogeneous composite, to which a great many nations have contributed"

COMMENTS

Zoroaster [the son] of Ormasdeus —This is the natural interpretation of the Greek phrase, despite the resulting inaccuracy of the statement Compare the similar expression "Zoroaster [the son] of Horomazes" in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *First Alcibiades*, 122 A (Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p 231; Clemen, *Fontes*, p 22) which Agathias may have in mind It is also to be observed that when, in a subsequent passage, he gives the Persian name of the Good Being, he transcribes it differently, as Ormisdates

Zarades —This form of the Prophet's name may be an approximation to the Pahlavi Zaratūsht, as Professor Jackson suggests, or possibly it represents the first element only of the name Zarathushtra, according to a practice of abbreviation, other instances of which are

Whether he be god or demiurge—That is whether Ormazd be the Supreme Being or a secondary creator This is possibly an allusion to the Zarvanite doctrine according to which both Ormazd and Ahriman sprang from Zarvan or Time as the primordial principle (M N Dhalla *Zoroastrian Theology* pp 203 205 New York 1914) This doctrine is explicitly referred to by the Greek ecclesiastical writer Theodore of Mopsuestia as summarized by Photius (see Jackson *Zoroaster* p 254, Clemen *Fontes* p 108)

The so called destruction of evil things—The slaying of noxious creatures both *khrafstras* or small vermin and larger beasts of prey is enjoined in the Avesta (*e g* Vendidad 14 5 6 18 65) and it was noted as a Magian practice by Herodotus (1 140, see Clemen *Fontes* p 7) *cf* also Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* ch 46 (Clemen p 48 Jackson *Zoroaster* p 235) and Windischmann's discussion of this passage in D D P Sanjana *Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Greek and Roman Classics* pp 93 97 Leipzig 1897 Agathias seems to be mistaken however in considering the observance as a particular festival unless it was in his time associated especially with the Jashn i Barzgarān celebrated on the fifth day of Spandarmat when charms are prepared for the extermination of hurtful creatures see L H Gray Festivals and Fasts (Iranian) in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 5 874 J J Modi *Anthropological Papers* pp 122 130 Bombay 1912

They have a special veneration for water—That the ancient Persians did not wash in rivers is stated both by Herodotus (1 138, Clemen p 7) and by Strabo (Bk 15 p 733, Clemen p 35, Sanjana *op cit* p 118), but the assertion of Agathias that they would not use water at all for cleansing purposes is too broad since purificatory ablutions are frequently prescribed in the Vendidad Washing the face in particular is mentioned in Shāyast lā Shāyast 12 21 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol 5 p 347)

They have many other gods—The Amshaspands and Izads are doubtless meant

They practise sacrifices and purifications and divinations—Sacrifice and purification are prominent in the Avesta, for divination which was rather a by product of popular superstition than a part of the religious rites see L H Gray "Divination (Persian)" in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 4 818-820

In certain edifices—The Greek word οἰκίσκοι which means literally "little houses" or "rooms" is vague but would be applied very appropriately to the inner shrines or chambers in which the sacred fire was kept

secure from pollution, or indeed to one of the smaller fire-temples as a whole. See, for instance, the photograph of the stone edifice at Naksh-i Rustam in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 302, New York, 1906.

It is to fire that they direct their gaze.—Compare Nirangistān 68 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 4, 2nd ed., pp. 346-347), where it is said that libations poured without looking at the fire accrue for the victory of the Anaryan countries. Divination by fire is mentioned also by Procopius (sixth century A.D.) who, in speaking of the great fire-temple in Adarbiganon (*i.e.*, the Fire Ādhargushnasp in Āzarbaijān), makes the following statement (2. 24. 2 ; see Clemen, *Fontes*, p. 97) : "The Magi guarding its fire unquenched, sanctify it carefully in other respects and employ it as an oracle for matters of great importance."

This usage . . . . does not agree with the rest.—That is, with their other rites, but the discrepancy that Agathias seems to note is not manifest.

Their religion is a most heterogeneous composite.—Agathias goes on to find the explanation in the succession of nations that had held sway over the Persian domains and gives accordingly, in chapters 25 and 26, a sketch of the history of Western Asia from the legendary Ninos, king of Assyria, to the rise of the Sasanian power.

IRAN'S PRIMEVAL HEROES AND THE MYTH OF THE FIRST MAN,

By A J Carnoy, Professor at the University of Louvain, Belgium

Few nations possess such a luxuriant development of legends, myths and tales as Persia Most of the stories which have been transmitted to Europe through various channels especially through the Arabian collections, have been traced back to Persian tales and one may suspect a similar origin for many more A recent article which the writer of this paper published in the Muséon (1923) on 'Paradis d Orient—Paradis d'Occident' is an illustration of the fact that Iran gives the key of most problems connected with the origin of the marvellous stories that have enriched Western literature and notably the tales which roused the hopes of the *conquistadores* in their march to the West

On account of the limitations of human imagination, these riches cannot escape to derive partly from an admirable power in renewing old themes The story, for instance, of the strong man who kills all kinds of fiends and dragons is attributed in turn to Thraetaona, to Keresaspa and, later, to Rustam In the Avesta, the conflict on high between Tishtrya and Apaosha (Yt VIII) is a doublet of the victory of Verethraghna (Yt XIV) etc

Not only many heroes are replicas of others but even, if the persons are different, it often happens that their myths are derived from the same sources

To show the filiation of those stories is useful work inasmuch as this helps us to bring order in a very complicated complex of myths and makes it less impossible to discover the Indo Iranian element in it or eventually to trace some story to non Aryan mythologies

The traditions concerning the first man, his plight, his rescue his death and the renovation of his life in one way or another have recently been the object of interesting studies on the part of scholars interested in the history of the religions in hellenized Eastern countries such as Bousset in his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen, 1907) and Reitzenstein in *Das iranische Erlosungsmysterium* (Bonn 1921)

They have shown that in very many forms a conception which is fundamentally the same has reached from Iran the Greek and the Semitic world concerning the "Salvation" of the first mortal and his rescuing power

Güntert in *Der Arische Weltkönig und Heiland* (Halle, 1923) placing himself on the point of view of an Indo-European scholar has made an effort to bring some order in the tradition concerning the first man in Iran and in India and has endeavoured to connect them with similar traditions in other Indo-European mythologies.

Although there's still much obscurity in the development of these conceptions, their general features are now well-known.

It has become possible to discover in the figures of Gaya Maretan, of Māshya, of Yima all that is inherited from Indo-European or at least Indo-Iranian traditions and discriminate it from later additions of different kinds. But in this case, like in many others, one has not exhausted the subject when one has studied the most prominent figures. Mythical matter is susceptible of multiplication, and one cannot know the character of the first man in Iran without extending one's enquiry into other legendary types which at first sight might seem pretty different from the character of the first mortal.

The epic of Firdausi in its beginning gives a list of primeval kings whose names date back to old times, although little is said about them in the Avesta. In the Book of Kings they have become epic, almost historic, figures, so much so that if we did not possess the older literature, we might think that one has to do with real kings who have left in the tradition some more or less adulterated traces of their existence.

However, a closer examination of the main features of those reigns shows that they are transformations of the mythical aspects of the " first mortal," and eventually may preserve details that will complete our knowledge of this important product of Indo-European imagination.

As regards the case of Gayōmart, the first king of the series we, of course, have not to prove that he is a form of the first man since his name is simply the Persian form of *Gaya Maretan*, who in Avestic times is the first human creature who after his death gave birth to Māshya and Māshyōi, the pair from which mankind arose. The interest lies here only in observing the kind of transformation which traditions have undergone so as to suit an epic person. The king, for instance, is said to have dwelt at first on a mountain whence his throne and fortune arose. In this, we may find an echo of the birth on high of the first man who was a brilliant creature, son of the sun or of the light (Yama, the son of Vivasvant). Just as Gaya Maretan was "white and brilliant," Gayōmart was "on his throne like a sun or a full moon over a lofty cypress," so much so that his natural sun-like radiancy has now become a mere point of comparison as might be used of any glorious king.

The account of the struggle between Ahriman and the first man is reduced in Firdausi's narrative to a war between Siyāmak, son of Gayōmart, and a wicked king, named Ahriman, in which the superb youth was killed This, of course, is an echo of the death of the first man born as a youth of fifteen and put to death so that out of his body mankind might be produced

Now when Gayōmart heard of the death of his son "the world turned black to him, he left his throne, he wailed aloud and tore his face and body with his nails His cheeks were smirched with blood, his heart was broken, and life grew sombre" (Sh N I 120)

These expressions which look like pretty common place Eastern metaphors for a moral gloom happen to reproduce almost literally what is said of the plight of the first man who just after he had been produced brilliant and white from the sweat of Ahura Mazda (Bünd XXIV I) became the prey of the demons so that 'he saw the world dark as night and the earth as though not a needle s point had remained free from noxious creatures" (Mainōg i Khrat XXVII 14)

It is, however, more important to show that the life of Gayōmart's successors also bear unmistakable traces of the features inherent to the first mortal story so that they may be considered as reduplications for that same mythical figure

The epic represents Hōshang as the heir of Gayōmart s throne The name was in Avestic *Haoshyangha* and seems to have meant "King of Good settlements," an interpretation made very probable by the fact that this king often receives the epithetof *parādhāta* (= pahl *pēshdāt*) "first law-giver." He is also called *takhma* "brave" like his successor Takhma Urupi

One speaks above all of the sacrifice which he offered on the top of Mount Hara Berezaiti, "seated on a golden throne, on a golden cushion, on a golden carpet." One recognizes here the manifestation on high of the first man, the brilliant, which has just been reported of Gayōmart

Guntert (s c p 388, 299) has shown that the first man was associated with a sacrifice on high, which had a cosmogonic character In many legends it is the first mortal himself who is sacrificed but he may also be the sacrificer. The sun appearing on the top of the mountain seems to have been some times regarded as the fire of that sacrifice.

But the Iranian legend goes on saying that out of that sacrifice, Hōshang obtained the favour that the awful kingly glory, the *khvarenanh* (or *farnah*) would cleave to him .

" For a time of long duration,
So that he ruled over the earth sevenfold,
Over men and over demons
Over sorcerers and witches
Rulers, lords and priests of evil
Who slew two-thirds
Of the demon hordes Mazainyan
And the lying fiends of Varena." (Yt. XIX 26.)

Now this *khvarenanh* is closely connected with the salvation of the first man and of mankind. In various narratives related to this salvation in mandaism, manichæism or gnosticism one finds that the rescue of the first mortal depends on his getting hold of a pearl (Reitzenstein, o. c. p. 55) or of a light (*ib.*, p. 9, 29, 33, et passim), while his fall or his death are consequences of the loss of that same treasure.

The *khvarenanh* is a reliable weapon to hurl back the demons which, as is told of Gaya Maretan, were assailing the first man. Hōshang, therefore, is a great conqueror of fiends as Firdausi tells us :

" One day he reached a mountain with his men
And saw afar a long swift dusky form
With eyes like pools of blood and jaws whose smoke
Bedimmed the world. Hōshang the wary seized
A stone, advanced and hurled it royally.
The world consuming worm escaped, the stone
Struck on a larger and they both were shivered.
Sparks issued and the centres flashed. The fire
Came from its stony hiding-place again,
When iron knocked. The world lord offered praise

Mirkhand (trad Shea p 68) says moreover of Hōshang that during his reign men reposed 'in the gardens of content and quiet in the bowers of undisturbed security, prosperity drew the bloom of happiness from the vicinity of his imperial pavilion '

Here we have to do with another aspect of the legend concerning the first man, *viz*, the story of a golden age, of a paradise in which the first man who died welcomes the other men as they come to the other world

It is the paradise of Yama in his tree in India, the golden age of Cronos in Greece etc (Carnoy Nom de Cronos Musee Belge 1920)

The conception is Indo European and Guntert has shown how it often was placed in primeval times and associated with the existence of the first man on earth instead of constituting his activity in the other world (O C, p 393) We need not tell that in Iran this part is above all played by Yima (Jamshed)

The successor of Hōshang is Tahmurath This name was in the Avesta Takhma Urupi The first part is clear and points to an original identity between this king and the preceding one, who also was called *takhma* No satisfactory explanation has been found up to now for the name *Urupi*

One has the more reasons to see in Tahmurath a doublet of Hōshang since he also offers a sacrifice on high to the god of wind which confers him the power of conquering the demons

Like Gayōmart he reigns during thirty years and like him also he finally becomes a victim

In the legend of this king therefore we find a form of the well known story of the fall of the first man which we also find in Yima This misfortune is often represented as the result of a sin or a mistake committed by the victim When the first men are represented as a pair of twins (Yama Yamī Mashya—Mashyoi), this sin was originally conceived as an indulgence in incestuous sexual relations out of which mankind sprang

Often, however, this tradition has faded off and one has only preserved the remembrance of a moral mistake which has deprived the first man from the brilliancy that made him unconquerable One knows the sad end of Yima in the Iranian mythology Something of the same kind happens to Tahmurath He had tamed Ahriman as his horse, but it was on the condition that he never would fear him Now when the horse rushed with lowered head from the top of Mount Hara Berezaiti, fear overcame the rider and the demon knew it because the secret had been betrayed by his wife Ahriman having recovered his power swallowed the hero

The evil came thus to him from a woman and such was also the case when the impure female demon, Jahi, revealed to Ahriman the way of overcoming Gaya Maretan. Yima, also, at the end of his life married a demoness (Būnd XXIII I.)

In all this, one is entitled to find the trace of the original story in which the female induced her twin-brother to evil deeds.

Tahmūrath's corpse was recovered from the body of Ahriman by Yima, brother of the victim and in this way the arts and civilization which had disappeared along with them were rescued (Darmesteter, *SBE*, XXIII, p. 252 N. I.). We, of course, here have a much adulterated remnant of the story of the immolation of the first man and the production from his body of all kinds of blessings and of mankind such as one finds it more or less well preserved on the myth of Gaya Maretan.

Another story related in the Bundahish (XVII. 4) says that during the reign of Tahmūrath, the world was illuminated by great fires. This looks like a doublet of the narrative previously mentioned in connection with Hōshang, which refers to the introduction of fire on earth and the institution of the Sada-festival.

As we have said, Tahmūrath is represented as the brother of Yima. It is probably no mere coincidence that the Indian Yama also had a brother in the person of Manu, while in Greece the blond Rhadamanthys was the brother of Minos. This seems to be a very old device in order to find a place for two figures which obviously were mere doublets of one another.

The production of such duplication seems therefore to be a very old phenomenon among the Indo-Europeans.

This shows that we are right in advocating the opinion that the Iranians have known even more replicas of the type of the first man than was supposed up to now. Besides the figures of Gaya, Māshya, and Yima we may place those of Hōshang and Takhmūrath, and it is not improbable that further research will reveal more derivatives of that same ancient prototype.

A METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE NIRANG-I-KUSTI,

BY SORABJEE PESTONJEE KANGA, ASSISTANT FINANCIAL SECRETARY (*Retired*), H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT, HYDERABAD (DECCAN).

(KEM NÂ MAZDÂ.)

When fiercely glows the wicked foe
To wreak his wrath on me,
Who'll save me in that hour of woe ?
I trust, O God, in Thee.

'Tis Thou alone who will prevent
My mind and heart from harm,
For both are e'er on virtue bent,
And truth's their potent arm.

To me, O God, that lore impart
That guides the soul to bliss,
And in Thy mercy check my heart
From doing aught amiss.

Who will, with Thy all-powerful word,
The devil drive away ?
On whom's Thy heavenly grace conferred
To be our guide and stay ?

Such Master show us, who can teach
What here our duty is,
And how hereafter we may reach
The land of endless bliss.

To him let glorious Srosh repair,
With gift of noble mind,
Who has succeeded by his prayer
God's special grace to find.

O Mazda great, O Wisdom pure,
In times of peril grave,
To me extend your succour sure,
And from the jealous save.

Away all evil, and avaunt
Each seed and root of pain,
Destructive war and famine gaunt,
And sin's horrific train.

All ruin and oppression cease,
No lie no fraud may grow,
And be this world a seat of peace,
A paradise below.

Hail bounteous Wisdom, fruitful source
Of every bliss on earth,
Hail plenteous peace, whose blessed course
Is marked with joy and mirth.

(ASHEM VOHÛ.)

Truth is supreme beatitude,
The richest boon forsooth,
And he enjoys the greatest good
Who never swerves from truth.

(THE PAZEND PRAYER OF AHURA MAZDA KHODÂE.)

O Mazda bright, of potent sway,
Destroy Ahriman foul;
And far from us him drive away,
On earth no more to prowl.

Away his loathsome wicked crew,
Of Deevs and Demons fell,
Magicians and impostors, who
Indulge in charm and spell.

Dark ruin be the lot of all,
Who're blind and deaf to truth,
All atheists, unbelievers, fall
A prey to ceaseless ruth

All foes and elves confounded be,
Their strength and wiles be broke,
From cruel rulers keep us free,
And from each galling yoke.
O Lord Supreme, O Mazda bright,
My sins I true repent,
With mind sincere and heart contrite,
I pray. Do Thou relent.
For wicked thoughts my mind revolved,
For wicked words I spoke,
For wicked deeds from me evolved,
Thy pardon I invoke.
Though many sins I knowing did
For worldly greed and gain,
And many faults are in me hid,
On me Thy mercy rain.
With virtuous thought and virtuous word
And eke with virtuous deed,
I seek Thee. Be Thy grace conferred
On me, I humbly plead
To Thee my body I dedicate,
To Thee my soul I give,
And in the world and future state
For Thee I pledge to live.
Be Thou pleased with me for ever,
Be Ahriman smashed;
Truthful men will suffer never,
Their hopes are never dashed.
I praise the truth, the greatest good,
The noblest gift of heaven
His is the best beatitude,
To whom the truth is given.

(YATHA AHU VAIRYO.)

The power of Kings is uncontrolled
In conduct of the State;
The Priests the same position hold
In teaching of the faith

Their guerdon is a noble mind,
Who ceaseless work for God,
And who, with hope and love combined
For His religion plod.

His lordship only they confess,
Who help the friendless poor,
Who do not let them in distress
Be spurned from door to door.

(JASA ME AVANGHÊ.)

Thy help I crave, O Mazda bright,
A Mazdayasnan I,
Zoroaster's laws my beacon light,
I sing its praises high.

The pure and virtuous thought I praise,
The word that's true and clear
And with delight my voice I raise
In praise of deed sincere.

I praise the Mazdayasnăn creed,
That quells all feuds, alarms,
By which a nation soon is freed
From dread or use of arms.

It leads to union and accord,
It is the noblest law,
It ushers peace, it breaks the sword,
Its light's without a flaw.

Of all the laws, brought under test
Of all to come behind,
It is the greatest and the best,
Its equal none can find.

This lasting truth it inculcates,
For us to ponder o'er,
That every blessing emanates
From Mazda's boundless store.

THE TWO SPIRITS—SPENTA AND ANGRA—IN THE AVESTA,

By N. D Khandalavala, B A, LL B.

Leaving aside preconceived opinions, we must carefully examine, first, the passages in the Gathas, which refer to the two spirits, and thereafter, to take into consideration various passages on the same subject, in the later Avesta

At the end of the first Hā (28) of the first Gatha (Ahunavaiti Zarathushtra asks the question—'Tell me O Mazda Ahura! by Thy spiritual mouth,—for announcing (to men)—how the world first came into being (*Yāish ā anghush pouruyô baiat*)"

In the 30th Hā, Zarathushtra, exhorting some people, to hear him and think for themselves, attempts an explanation —*Para* 3 "The two spirits who (are) twins, described themselves (respectively) as the better (*vahyô*) and the bad (*akemchi*) in thought, word, and deed Those having good sense, discerned the truth, not so the evil minded'

4 And when these two spirits, first came together, they made life and non life (*gaemchā ajyāitimcha*), and so shall it be till the end of the world *Achishtô Manô* (the worst mind) is of the wicked, *Vahishtem Manô* (the best mind is) for the righteous

5 Of these two spirits, the Dregvao (wicked one) chose the worst (achishtāo) deeds, *Spentô* Mainyu (the increasing spirit) who lives in the most firm heaven,—and they who performing righteous deeds gladden Ahura Mazda,—chose Ashem (Purity)

6 The Daeva believers did not rightly discern the difference between these two (spirits), although when they came to argue, we defeated them Still they chose Achishtô Manô (the worst *mind*), whereby they made common cause with Aeshem (the demon of wrath), so that "they may injure the life of men"

The two spirits when they first came together made life and death; it is said Did the two together make life, and again the two together make death or the good one singly made life, and the wicked one by himself made death, and if so where was the necessity of their coming together?

The 45th Hā thus begins—1. To you who come from far and near desiring (to know), will I speak publicly. Listen and attentively hear, and weigh properly in your minds, what I have to say, so that the false-teacher (*Dushsastish*) may not harm your lives a second time.

The wicked man (dregvâo) owing to his bad desire (akā varnā) and speech goes the wrong way.

2. I will first inform you about the two spirits of the world. Of these two, the more increasing one (spanyâo) thus *spake* to Angra (the destroying spirit), " Neither our minds (manâo), nor doctrines (senghâ), nor our intellects (khrathvô), nor our desires (varnâ), nor our teachings (ukhdhā), nor our actions (shyaothnā), nor our beliefs (daenâo), nor our souls (urvāno), agree."

In the 30th Hā we have seen Zarathushtra speaking to an assemblage of people called in the first instance. His exposition of the two spirits at that time appears not to have had much effect, and so, in the 45th Hā, therefore, we see him addressing a much larger gathering of people drawn from far and near and exhorting them to deeply consider and make their choice between the two spirits of the world, which he over again mentions laying great stress thereon and representing the two as diametrically opposed in their constitution and all their principles. The two, he says, are spirits of the world, Cosmic Powers of good and evil. Angra-mainyu is a dark monster of destruction. There is no point of contact between the two. Each is of its own peculiar kind and quality.

The word ' Angra ' occurs in three places in the Gathas, *viz.*, Hā 43-15, Hā 44-12, and Hā 45-2.

" None of you should hear the Manthras and teachings of the wicked (dregvato mānthrāschā sāsnāoschā), for they bring destruction and ruin upon the house, the village, the city, and the province. Destroy them with weapons." (Hā 31.18.)

3. " But O ye Daevas, ye are the progeny of the Bad Mind (Akôman). He who worships you most is (himself) a deceitful and wrong-minded person. By your deceit, ye are known in many ways over the seven (parts) of the Earth." (Hā 32.3.)

4. " And you pervert the mind, whereby men become the doers of wicked deeds, (and) declare themselves as devotees of the Daevas, renouncers of the good mind, debarring themselves from righteousness and the Wisdom of Ahura Mazda." (Hā 32. 3 and 4.)

" I shall extirpate those who are Kavis and Karpans. (Hā 32. 15.)

In Hā 44 2 Ahura Mazda is addressed as "Spentô Mainyu Mazdā," which shows that Ahura Mazd and Spentô mainyu are one and the same In Hā 44 7 occur the words —"Mazdā Spentā Mainyu vispanām datārem,' i e, O Spentô Mainyu Mazda, creator of all

In Hā 44 12 it is said—" O Ahura tell me on whose side of the two (the righteous and the wicked) is Angra mainyu, which of these two is like Angra mainyu "

In para 20 it is said—' O Ahura of what kind are the Daevas, for owing to them the Karaps and Usikhs spoil the world, and the Kavis grow in power In Hā 47 5 we find " Spenta mainyu Mazda Ahurā, and the wicked man (dregvāo) is said to be living with 'Akat Mananghô' (the Evil Mind) "

In para 6 of the same Hā the words' Spentā Mainyū Mazdā Ahurā" occur. In Hā 51 7 we find the words— Spenishtā Mainyu Mazdā

ANGRO MAINYU IN THE LATER AVESTA

In the first Fargard of the Vendidad

Ahura Mazda is said to have created sixteen different countries and in opposition Angro Mainyu who is full of death (Pouru mahrkô) is spoken of as having created the following —

1 Large snakes, and daeva made winter 2 The second counter creation of Angro was gad flies which deal death to cattle The third counter creation was carnage and discontent The fourth was a wasp and poisonous plant The fifth was the sin of unbelief The sixth was hail storms and poverty The seventh was the Peri Khnathaiti that clave unto *Keresåsp* The eighth was the sin of pride The ninth was the unnatural sin The tenth was the sin of burying the dead. The eleventh was sorcery The twelfth was the sin of utter unbelief The thirteenth was the burning of the dead The fourteenth was unnatural issues in women and barbarian oppression The fifteenth was abnormal menses and excessive heat The sixteenth was daeva-made winter, and earthquakes

In the Vendidad the names of a number of Daevas are mentioned and Angro Mainyu their progenitor seems to be ubiquitous as will appear from the following — I drive thee away O Mischievous Angro Mainyu ! from the fire, the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and the faithful woman, from the stars, from the Moon from the Sun, from the boundless lights, and from all good things made by Mazda (Vend 11 10)

THE TEMPTATION.

In Fàrgard 19 of the Vendidad we read :—" From the regions of the North rushed forth Angro Mainyu full of death, the Daeva of the Daevàs, and commanded the deceitful Buiti Druj to kill the Holy Zarathushtrà, who recited the Ahuna Vairyo, professed himself a Mazdyasnian, and performed the Yasna of the waters of the river Dāitya. Buiti Daeva was dismayed. Zarathushtra threw stones large as a house from a sling. Zarathushtra held forth—" O Angro Mainyu of evil understanding, I will destroy your evil creation, I will destroy the Nasu of evil origin and the Peri Khnaiti." Then replied Angro Mainyu, Do not, O Zarathustra, destroy my creation, but abjure the Muzdyasman faith so that you may become as rich as the lord of the Vadhghan country."

Zarathushtra answered, " Not even if my body be separated from my soul will I renounce the religion of Mazda. I will strike thee with the *havnim, tasht and Haom* and with the holy word which was made by Spento Mainyu in Boundless Time and promulgated by the Ameshâ Spentās."

In the beginning of Vandedad 22 Ahura Mazda says that he made the world full of delight, but the snake Angro Mainyu full of death produced 99,999 diseases.

In the Sraosh Yasht it is said that Ahura Mazda created Sraosh with the terrible weapons as an opponent of Aeshem Daeva.

In paras. 77-78 of the Farvardin Yasht it is said that when Angro Mainyu at once rushed into the good creation, Atar and Vohumano intervened and put a stop to the destruction of the wicked Angro Mainyu.

According to the oldest tradition as recorded in the Bundahesh Angro Mainyu (Ahreman) is said to have killed the sole created ox (Gāvyokdād) and Gayomard the sole created man.

It is needless to give numerous other references which are to be found in the later Avesta in which Ahreman is found fully and securely installed as a monster world power with his brood of noxious Daevàs, opposing everywhere the creation and work of Ahura Mazda.

To be a worshipper of Ahura Mazda was taken to mean to be a self made opponent of the mythical Ahreman and imaginary Daevas by hurling, in the midst of prayer, imprecations and spells in an not understood language.

THE STATE OF ANCIENT IRAN

Says Professor Max Duncker in his Ancient History —

"The centre of Iran was formed of a vast desert, and to the north and south stretched, far away, table lands The favoured districts, might almost be called oases Immediately on the most fertile villages and slopes, bordered endless steppes, blooming plains densely shaded by groves, were encompassed by dreary wastes The people of Iran not only suffered from the heat of Summer but also from the cold of Winter Here corn fields and pastures were buried under snow for many weeks, there sand drifts destroyed culture There the cattle were tortured by gadflies in the heat, here bears and wolves invaded the herds, there snakes had to be guarded against and the fiercer wild beasts Life in this land was a fight against heat and against cold, a fight for the preservation of the flocks, and as soon as single tribes had begun to settle in the favoured districts and to attend to agriculture, it became a " fight against the desert and the drought Most of the native tribe of the central table land and many of those who held the surrounding highlands were wandering nomadic herdsmen so that while the settlers laboured lustily in the sweat of their brow the others roved about idly with their flocks and there could be no lack of raids in the agricultural districts, of plundering and robbing

M *Zinaide Ragozin*, the learned author of the Story of Nations (Media and Persia)' writes —

"The strife which pervaded the existence of the Iranians in the land which they had made their own became to them the main fact of nature, generally pervading the whole creation *The opposition between Light and Darkness*, and consequently *between the powers of Light and Darkness*—the Gods and the Demons—is a prominent grand feature, of the primeval Aryan conception of nature, as of every primitive religion in the world With the Iranians that became *the one fundamental Law to the* absorption and utmost exclusion of the many picturesque mythical details, and incidents with which the poetry of other Aryan nations, is adorned to overloading, thus preparing the way for the *Dualism* which is *the key note* of their *natural religion*.

"In their slow advance towards the West, the Iranians were continually harassed by fleetly mounted Scythian hordes (Turanians), and encountered scattered tribes of the same hostile race along the broad and irregular track of their migration There savage nomads, ubiquitous with their small untiring steppe horses, and their unerring

lassoes, were the standing terror of the Iranian settlers, whose pasture and farms were not for one moment secure from their raids. The Turanian adversaries, lawless invaders, iniquitous usurpers and tyrants, as they were, were looked upon as demons (Daevas).

"That the Turanians were accounted Daevayasnas or worshippers of fiends is self-evident. But not they alone, scarcely less hated of Zarathushtra and his followers, were such communities of their own Aryan as resisted the progressive movement, towards spiritual monotheism, and persisted in sacrificing to the Gods of the old Aryan nature-worship. There were doubtless many such, and it is certainly to them, their leaders and their priests, that Zarathushtra alludes when he speaks of the evil teachers that corrupt the people's mind, of their persecutions which made him and his followers, homeless wanderers. Nor can the prophet be said to deal with these unbelievers exactly in a spirit of charity. Not only are they bitterly, wrathfully denounced *throughout the Gathas*, but their *extermination* is demanded in no unequivocal terms.

"There can be little doubt that the feelings of hatred and contempt with which Zarathushtra inspired his followers, against those of the old Aryan religion, were amply reciprocated by the latter. This supplies us with the most natural explanation of the use by the Zoroastrian Iranians, of the word *Daeva* with the meaning of demon, fiend, etc., while the original word in Sanscrit denotes a God of light and beneficent Power.

"The Dualism announced in the 30th Hā of the Gathas is absolute. The two spirits are twins and together they create the world, and the result is of necessity a mixture of opposites."*

THE RELATIVITY OF GOOD AND EVIL.

Where does good reside, and in what does it consist? What is Evil and where is its home? Who is it that sayeth this is good, and that is Evil, and what is the test by which such distinction is made? Is 'Good' a something positive like a piece of Gold and is 'evil' some definite thing like Arsenic? These are merely attributive words that are used to denote the *relative* usefulness or otherwise of things.

All the productions of Nature are useful and appropriate in their own places. The epithets good and bad cannot be applied to them until man thinks of one or other of these in *relation* either to himself or other

Arsenic taken in very small doses is a curative medicine and is good. Taken in large doses it would kill and would be called horribly bad.

To the owl and a few other creatures who can see in darkness,—darkness is a blessing and is good, while light blinds them and is to them bad

Food is necessary for animals and is good, but food taken in large quantities produces indigestion and pain and is bad in that respect.

Good and evil are not conditions of the divine power of manifestation, but are the *mental attitude*, which man assumes towards the various manifestations of the Divine Energy There is no evil whatsoever in the manifestations It is the way in which the manifestations are viewed by man The manifestations of nature are *non-ethical* Wind, rain, fire, flood, cold heat, thunder, lightning, darkness, light, are in themselves without any ethical significance

But when man comes into contact with them he classifies them into two opposite divisions calling some to be good, and others bad just as they conduce to his comfort or cause him difficulty or pain It is only the human view of things that puts the labels good and bad on the things.

THE TRUE DOCTRINE

That in the Zoroastrian Faith the dualistic doctrine was not always believed in is apparent from the following

In para. 25 of the Hormazd Yasht we read—" Mana Khrathvācha chishticha yāsh ā *anghhush* pauruyo bavat, yathāchaanghat apemem anghhush " By my intellect and my wisdom the world first came into being and so shall the world go on till the end

This is the inestimable teaching of a highly intuitive Sohyant which is worth its weight in gold

THE AVESTAN INSTRUMENTALS ENDING IN -ĪS AND -US,

BY PROF HANS REICHELT.

In Awestan there are some striking instrumentals of *n*- and *u*- stems ending in -*iš* and -*uš*, namely

nāmənīš

xiāiš nāmənīš, y 51 22

tāsča imā nāmənīš as Nom Pl Yt 1 15, 19.

imā nāmənīš drənjayō framravа as Acc Pl Yt 1 11, 16

ašaonīš

dama (daman) ašaonīš yazamaide as Acc Pl Y 16 3, 71 10

antarə xvādaēnāiš (xvādaēnā) ašaonīš as Acc Pl V 21, 3, P. 36

snāθənīš

ratufrīš snāθənīš . xvastāiš . N 57

avarəhīš

vi daēvāiš ayāiš avarəhīš . . sarəm mruye Y 12.4.

varəuhīš

varəuhīš daman ašaonīš yazamaide as Acc Pl Y. 71 10

yātuš

sarəm mruyē . . vi yātuš vi yātumatbīs Y. 12.4.

pərənāyuš.

varəuhī daēna māzdayasnīš pərənāyuš čiθam θwərəsaiti as Dat. Pl V. 3.42.

aiθrō-mainyuš

kahe vača vanai mana dama aiərō mainyuš as Acc. Pl. V. 19.8

hazaŋrəraja aiəro. mainyuš (scil *dama*) *paiti, jasaiti* as Acc. Pl. V. 13 1.

spəntō mainyuš.

hazaŋrəraja spəntō mainyuš (scil *dama) *paiti jasaiti* as. Acc. Pl.

V. 13.5.

†pituš.

ratufriš †pituš (Ms. *patuš*) *xvastāiš* . . N. 57.

vīzuš.

ratufriš snākōniščа vīzuščа xvastāiš . . N. 57.

The—*iš* of *nāmōnīš ašaoniš, snākōniš* as well as of *avaōhīš, vaōuhīš,* though these forms are simply to be explained as *(*a-*) *vahvoš* for * (*a-*) *vohuwiš*, Ved. *vasubhiḥ*, is commonly considered as identical with the final part -*īs* of the Indogermanic ending*—ōis of the *o*-stems, see Bartholomae Grd. d. iran. Phil. I. 1. 134 and Brugmann Grd. d. vgl. Gramm. d. idg. Spr. II. 2,[2] 268. But it is quite improbable, that the Avestan alone has preserved the ending **īs*, since this ending in pre-Aryan times already had coalesced with the *o*-of the *o*-stems. I hold therefore that gtu. *nāmōnīš*, j Aw. *ašaonīš*, *snākōniš* are mere wrong readings of n'm (v) vyš, 'sv (v)vyš, sn'k (v)vyš of the original Aramaic text, the *v* instead of *w* having been taken as *n* according to the cases with *an*, as in *hunā*(*i*)*ti* 'he incites, procures' for *huwa*(*i*)*ti*, Ved. *suwati* according to *hunā*(*i*)*ti* 'he brings forth,' for instance, see Andreas—Wackernagel N.G.G. 1911-31; thus they can be regarded as regular forms **nāmawiš*, **asavawiš*, **snākawiš* or **nāmuwiš*, **asavuwiš*, **snākawiš* respectively with *u* which occasionally replaces *a* as representative of the sonant nasal, see Andreas Wackernagal L. c. 8.

As to -*uš* of *yātuš*, *o mainyuš*, *pituš*, *vīzuš* it seemed to be nearly inexplicable till now. But with regard to the fact, that 1 *v* before 1 *v* or *w* and ى *y* before يو usually are supprimed, I am declined to believe -*uš*, to be also a wrong reading, assuming that -*vš* of the original Aramaic text, written for -Vyš, *i.e.*, *uwiš*, has been taken literally by the copyists that introduced the Avestan alphabet.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PERSIANS FROM THE GERMAN OF FERD. JUSTI,

By D Mackichan, M A, D D, LL D

Cyrus (old Pers *Kūruš*, reigned 558 530 B C), the founder of the Persian Empire, bears in the oldest written records in the Babylonian language the name of "Kurash[1], the great king, the mighty king, the king of Babel, the king of Sumir and Akkad, the king of the four countries, son of Kambuziyam the great king, the king of Anshān, the great grandson of Shishpish, the great king the king of Anshān" (Cyrus Cylinder Journ Asiat Soc XII, 1880 87) In the annals of Nebunid Cyrus is called king of Anshan before the conquest of the Medes, later (9th year of Nabunid) he is called king of Parsu, in Babylonian private records (contract tablets) he is called king of Babel[2] This means that Cyrus is a king of the Persians but that his paternal kingdom lay in Anshan or Anzan[3], northern Elam (Susiana) with Susa as its capital. It may be conjectured that the eldest Cyrus and his brother Ariaramnes, the sons of Teispes had been allies of the Medes at the time of the overthrow of the Assyrian kingdom and that the Persians (Parsua) under the leadership of their Achaemenian princes abandoned the territory south of Manna where the Assyrians were in contact with them and had taken possession of Susiana and Persis The sons of Teispes founded two lines,[4] one of which exercised sovereignty from the valley of Murghāt (Medus, Pulwar) over the districts of Pārs and Kerman, the other took to itself the kingdom of Susa where king Ummanaldash, 640 B C, had exchanged for voluntary exile his shadow kingdom built on the ruins of

---

[1] Signifies in the Susian tongue "Shepherd (he is)" just as Kurigalsu means "Be my Shepherd", cf the prophet in Isaiah 44, 28, Hommel geschichte Babyl u Assyr, Berlin 1885, 789 In Persian Kyros according to the statement of the Greeks is a word for "Sun," perhaps related to the old Northern *hyr* (fire)

[2] Mentioned also on a brick from Senkereh Transact Soc Bibl Archæol II, 148; Oppert, Records of the Past, 9, 67

[3] The syllable za in An za an can also be read as sa (tsa), the Babylonians pronounced the name as Anshân, on the cylinder of Nabunid, Col I, Z 29 it is written Anzān (where Cyrus is mentioned), in his Annals and on the Cyrus Cylinder *Ansân*.

[4] The word *duritiltarnam* in the inscription cannot be adduced in support of this view, since it signifies "from of old," in the Susian translation *šamaknar*, as Cyrus in his Babylonian Inscription calls himself "a shoot from a long line of kings;" see Kern. ZDMG 23, 222 Foy in the same periodical 50, 130, Weissbach 80

the territory that had been devastated by Assurbanipal in a great war. The oracle in Jeremiah (49, 34) of 596 B.C. has been considered to refer to the occupation of Elam by the Persians. However the whole of the country of Susiana does not seem to have come into his possession till after the death of Abradatas who fell in the battle of Sardes as an ally of Cyrus (Xenoph. Kyrop. 7, 1, 32). When the Median Empire was conquered by Cyrus the Great in 550 B.C. Persis also passed under his rule and since he did not, like the Assyrians, destroy the kings whom he conquered but everywhere grasped the sceptre himself, Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, accordingly lost his position as monarch or it passed over to Cyrus perhaps after the death of Ariaramnes and we find his son Hystaspes later as Satrap of Parthia. The title "King of Anzān[1]" could not therefore have been exchanged for that of "King of Persia" before the time of Cyrus. Susa, the capital of Elam, remained still the royal seat of the Persians while Pasargada in Persis[2], but after Darius Persepolis, with the imperial palace for great state ceremonies, with its altar, for the sacred fire and the royal sepulchres was regarded as the sacred city. The outstanding position of Elam, the later province of *Hūza* (in old-Persian written *Uvza*, Susiana) explains amongst other things the fact that the Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenids are accompanied by an Anzano-Susian and therefore Babylonian translation, that even the builders' record of Persepolis on the eastern side of the Terrace is engraved only in the Susian language. (Oppert, Records of the Past 9, 73 ; Le peuple et la langue des médes 196.) This language which is related neither to the Persian nor the Babylonian tongue is a somewhat later form of that which appears in those inscriptions of the indigenous princes which have been discovered at Aidadsh on the plain of Mâl-Amīr on a tributary of the upper Qārūn. These princes[3] call themselves "King of the peoples and of Anzān while their country they call Ḥapirti and this latter name in the Susian translation of the Achæmenid Inscription is the rendering of the Persian *Hūža* which, originally the name of the Uxians, the eastern neighbours of the Kissians (Kashshi of the inscriptions) or Susians, came in course of time to designate the entire country (New Persian *Xūzistān*, Arabic *Hūz* in the plural *Ahwāz*, one of the chief towns on the Rapids of the Pasitigris or Qārūn, the Aginis of

[1] The prophet in Isaiah 21, 2 calls the conqueror of Babel (*i.e.*, Cyrus) : Elam (personified).

[2] Perhaps the same name as Shurgadia of the Parsua in their former settlements.

[3] Oppert in 1873 and Sayce in 1874 began the decipherment of the inscriptions ; Winckler gives a list of the kings of Susiana before the Persian rule as learned from the inscriptions, Zeitschrift f. Assyriol., VI. 317.

Arrian) Thus also the name Anshān, which on a Babylonian gloss is explained as Elamtu, seems to have been transferred from a northern district to a great part of Susiana, and Rawlinson has discovered the name Assān applied to the district surrounding Shushtar (Sosirate[1]) The identification of Anzān or Anshan is difficult and has given rise to keen controversy in which most of the scholars who have busied themselves with the newly discovered Cyrus Inscriptions have taken part[2].

In the Annals of Nabunid it is further recorded that the mother of Nabunid, a daughter of Nebukadnezar, died on the 5th Nisan (5th April) 547 B C and the Cyrus had in the same month crossed the Tigris from Arbela and in Airu (May) marched into the country of Ish (parda), *i e*, Lydia[3] on which occasion he probably conquered Upper Mesopotamia and other countries Harrān with its temple to the Moon had passed out of Median into Babylonian hands and Nabunid had restored the sanctuary destroyed by the Medes In Lydia which, after the assault made by Kyaxares, had preserved its independence Alyattes who had died in the spring of 560 B C and had been buried in an enormous sepulchral mound was succeeded by his son Croesus[4] This friend of the Greeks, who ruled over the whole of Asia Minor west of the Halys together with a number of Greek coast-cities, with the exception however of Lycia (Herod 1 28), saw the approach of the danger threatening his empire since peace with Media had by reason of its conquest become precarious

He sought to increase his military strength through the help of Nabunid, of Aahmes (Amasis) of Egypt, and of the Lacedæmonians (Herodotus I, 77), encouraged by the Delphian oracle he resolved to anticipate an attack and crossing the Halys invaded Cappadocia which belonged to the Median empire where he conquered the strong Hittite city of Pteria (the Boghaz kōi of to-day)[5] which commanded the road to

1 Nöldeke, Gottinger Nachrichten 1 April 1874, 195

2 Tihnst, published by G Flügel 5 12, Z 1

3 Rawlinson, Journ of the R Asiat Soc XII, 1880, 76, Encyclop Brit XIII 395*b*, Oppert, Gött gel anz 1881, 1251, Halevy, Sayce, Delattre de Harlez in the Museon 1882, 1883, Hommel Geschichte Babyl u Assyr 273, Ed Meyer, ZDMG 43, 561, Halévy, Actes du 8 congrès des orient II, 1, 155, Winckler, Unters 114 Tiele, Festschrift zum 80 Geburtst von Dr P J Veth, 1895, S 195

4 This supplementing of the Susian name of Lydia Ish (—parda) (Babylonian Saparda with Saméch) is due to Floigl (s 125)

5 Herodot I, 93 Strabo 627 (ed Meineke 877) Regarding the explanations of the sepulchral mound *cf* Hamilton, Researches I 140 Texier, asie mineure 258 Spiegelthal and Olfers Monatsber Berl Akad 1854, 700, Abhand d. Berl. Akad, 858, 539, Choisy, Revue Archeol XVII, 1876, 73

Sinope and ravaged it together with its surrounding territory (Herod. I,76). A battle with the Persians proved indecisive. Crœsus, however, withdrew across the river which formed his boundary, probably in order to increase his army through the assistance of his allies and under the erroneous impression that the Persians would not immediately venture an attack on Sardis. Cyrus, however, followed him on foot and overtook him at Thymbrara in the plain of Hermos and Hyllos (Herod. I, 80; therefore also Xenoph. Kyrop. 6, 2, 11) where the Lydians were thrown back on Sardis their capital. The city was taken, the fort, situated on a steep rock, scaled under the leadership of Hyroiades, a Mardian son of the mountains; Crœsus himself who had already mounted the funeral pile in order to give himself to death[1] was taken prisoner and received from Cyrus the city of Barene (Barce according to Justin) in Agbatana allotted to him as his seat, late in autumn 546.[2] The Lydian empire had fallen before the allies could interpose and this event was so extraordinary and especially for the Greeks, to whom the might, the gold and the munificence of the Lydian king who was now a beggar and a prisoner, had seemed fabulous, so overpowering that they wove legends *around him and transformed his history into a tragedy of fate.*[3] His place was taken by a Persian satrap who had to collect a fixed tribute from the land and from the Greek cities; the attempt at a rising under the Lydian Pactyes was immediately frustrated and only resulted in harsher proceedings on the part of the Persians; the Median generals Mazares and, after his death, Harpagos conquered the Greek cities which Cyrus before his attack on Lydia had in vain summoned to alliance, as also the islands and the rest of Asia Minor;[4] Harpagos received as a hereditary satrapy[5] Lycia the country of the Termilæ which had not been

subdued by Crœsus but which he had conquered against violent resistance Cana retained its native princes as vassals of the Persians, the Hittite Syennesis of Cilicia reigned as a tributary but almost independent prince, also in Paphlagonia and Cyprus the reigning chiefs were only bound to military service (Xenoph. Kyrop 7, 4, 2, 8, 6, 8)

The Greek cities, with the exception of Miletus which remained in the alliance which had been formed under Crœsus were placed under the headship of members of families, whose conduct was supervised by the Satrap in Sardis, no obstacle was placed in the way of their religious societies The Phœnicians placed themselves voluntarily under the Persian rule, only Gaza had to be subdued Cyrus betook himself back to Inner Asia where he took possession of the countries that had been hitherto under Media as well as Kyra He also fortified Kyropolis and Kyreschata (Uratubeh) (Arrian 4 2 1) and destroyed the city of Kapisa in the Ghorband at the Southern foot of the Hindu Kush, which points to widely extended campaigns of conquest, on a march through Gedrosia he and his starving army were supported by supplies furnished by the Orosangs [1]

The time seemed now to have arrived for incorporating in the new empire the remote countries of the Semites the Arabs to whose protection the caravans of merchandise which passed through from Chaldæa to Egypt had been entrusted, the countries of the Aramaic and Canaanite peoples, and the Phœnician cities which commanded the sea, all of which the great Nebukadresar had united under his sceptre, and to conquer the capital and the greatest fortress of the world of that day, Babylon, the seat of culture and of world commerce [2] The last king of Babylonia, Crœsus' ally, had been placed upon the throne by a court party, he had through religious innovations embittered the priests in Babylon whose interest in their own order was greater than their patriotism, Nabunid had left the capital and remained in Temâ (or Teva) and in his occupation with the history of old temples openly neglected, at a most critical moment, his duties as King and General Cyrus for his own advantage nourished this flame of discontent and came as Deliverer not only to the exiled Jews whom, it is true, he did not gratify by making the city (as a prophet living in exile had desired, Isaiah 13 20 14, 22) a desolation and the abode of owls and porcupines, but also to an influential section

---

[1] Spiegal Eran Alterth 2 541 not 2 Maspero 572

[2] *Cf* Tiele Babylonisch Assyr Geschichte 463

of the Babylonians[1]. Nabunid in his fear of the approaching Persians caused great sacrifices to be prepared and the god Zamama, and the gods of Kisch (north-east from Babylon), Belit (Mylitta) and the other gods of Charsag-Kalamma (*i. e.*, " the great mountain of the world ") as well as the gods of Barsip, Kūtha and Akkad, to be transported to Babylon for the protection of the city. The victory over the Babylonian army at Uchki[2] in the beginning of the month Tammūz (July) 539 brought about a rising against Nabunid and already on the 14th day of this month (12th July) Sippar opened its gates and two days later, the day following the great Tammūz festival Gubaru (Ugbaru) Satrap of Guti (probably Upper Mesopotamia or Singara[3] conquered by Cyrus) marched into Babylon without a conflict and captured Nabunid who had taken to flight;[4] an attempt of the garrison in E-sagil, the fortified temple of Marduk, to defend itself miscarried through lack of the necessary munitions. On the 27th October[5] Cyrus made his entry, and the tolerance which the Aryan faith permitted to its followers, had for Cyrus the political advantage that he as a worshipper of Marduk and Nebo ranked as an equal with indigenous monarchs. Nabunid died on the 11th Adar, *i.e.*, the 1st March 538, and mourning for him was observed from the 9th to the 22nd March; Cambyses, son of Cyrus, on the 4th day of the New Year, 23rd March 538, celebrated a religious service in the temple, presumably in connection with his appointment as Governor of the city. The gods who had left the besieged city in the lurch were despatched back to their own temples. Gubaru had to make the necessary arrangements for the transference of the city to the Persian administration and then returned to his own Satrapy. This according to the inscriptions was the process of events, in the capture of Babylon. The narrative given by Berosus (Müller, Fragm. hist. graec. 2, 508) can be brought into agreement with these statements; the representation in the account given by

Herodotus, which includes details taken perhaps from the siege of Babylon by Darius, is incorrect [1]

According to the Greek accounts Cyrus fell in a battle against the Turanians in the north-eastern part of his empire, according to Herodotus (I, 204) it was against the Masagetæ beyond the Araxes (Jaxartes) whose queen Tomyris Cyrus desired to wed, he is disdainfully rejected, takes her son Spargapises[2] prisoner, who then commits suicide, upon this follows a great battle, the Persians are defeated and Cyrus slain, according to Ammianus Marcell 23, 6, 7, 40 Tomyris ruled over the European Scythians and Cyrus is represented as having passed over the Bosporus Xenophon makes no mention of any such expedition The story of Ktesias (Persica 6 8) sounds more probable than this tale, viz, that Cyrus fell in battle against the Derbicans, a people on the

---

1 The important cuneiform inscriptions discovered by Hormuzd Rassam from which our information regarding the more particular details of the taking of Babylon is drawn are (*a*) The inscription of Nabunid on a clay cylinder from Abu Habba (Sippar) made known by Pinches, Transact Soc Bibl Archæol V, 1880, 7, Rawlinson's Inscriptions of Western Asia, V, 64, (*b*) The annals of Nabunid on a clay tablet from the same place these were published by Rassam in the Transactions of the Soc of Bibl Archæol VII 1882, 37 and first translated by Pinches in the same Transactions 180, Text in Rawlinson's Inscriptions quoted above, (*c*) The Cyrus cylinder from Babylon, a kind of memorial or manifesto of the capture of Babylon and the dethronement of Nabunid composed by Babylonian Scribes in the name of Cyrus, published by Rawlinson, Inscript V 35 and with translation in the Journal of the R Asiat Soc XII 1880 70, 84 Reproduction of the Cylinder in Budge, Babylonian Life and History (Religious Tract Soc 1884), p 78. The inscriptions have been frequently translated and explained, by E. Schrader in Bauer's Kyros sage u Verwandtes (Sitzungsber der Wilner Akad 1882) 7 Cuneiform inscriptions and the Old Testament 373, Halevy Comptes Rendus de l' Acad des Inscr 1880, 264 Revue des études juives I, 9, Latrille, Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung II, 242, O E Hagen, in Delitzch u Haupt Beitrage zur Assyriol 1889 1891, cf Bezold, Babyl Litteratur 137ff Proceedings Soc Bibl Archæol XI, 1889, 84 Utilized for historical research partly with translation of the originals, Rawlinson, Boscawen and Sayce in the 'Athenæum' and the "Academy" of 1879 and 1880 Tiele, Babyl assyr Geschichte, 468, Hommel, Gesch. Babyl u Assyriens 779, 787, Oppert, Gott gel anz. 1881, 1267, Büdinger, uber die neu entdeckten Inschriften des Cyrus (Wiener akadem Sitzungsber XCVII 0 11), Keiper die neu entdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus. Zweibrucken 1882 Babelon et Halevy, Annales philosophie chret 1882, 349, Unger, Abhandl Munch. Akad. XVI, III, 1882, 237, Evers, Ueber die von Rawlinson und Pinches ubersetzten Inschriften (Mitthl, aus d histor Litteratur XI, 3) Das Emporkommen der persischen Macht unter Cyrus. Berl 1884; Hugo Winckler, Untersuchungen zur Orintal Geschichte, Leipzig 1889 With regard to the Biblical passages on the Fall of Babylon see Tiele's discussion in Babyl. assyr Geschicte 450, Wellhausen, Israelit u. judisch. Geschichte Berl 1894 115, 119

2 Herodotus 4, 76, 78 has the similar probably only dialectically different, name Spargapeithes for two Scythian princes.

of the Babylonians[1]. Nabunid in his fear of the approaching Persians caused great sacrifices to be prepared and the god Zamama, and the gods of Kisch (north-east from Babylon), Belit (Mylitta) and the other gods of Charsag-Kalamma (*i. e.*, " the great mountain of the world ") as well as the gods of Barsip, Kūtha and Akkad, to be transported to Babylon for the protection of the city. The victory over the Babylonian army at Uchki[2] in the beginning of the month Tammūz (July) 539 brought about a rising against Nabunid and already on the 14th day of this month (12th July) Sippar opened its gates and two days later, the day following the great Tammūz festival Gubaru (Ugbaru) Satrap of Guti (probably Upper Mesopotamia or Singara[3] conquered by Cyrus) marched into Babylon without a conflict and captured Nabunid who had taken to flight;[4] an attempt of the garrison in E-sagil, the fortified temple of Marduk, to defend itself miscarried through lack of the necessary munitions. On the 27th October[5] Cyrus made his entry, and the tolerance which the Aryan faith permitted to its followers, had for Cyrus the political advantage that he as a worshipper of Marduk and Nebo ranked as an equal with indigenous monarchs. Nabunid died on the 11th Adar, *i.e.*, the 1st March 538, and mourning for him was observed from the 9th to the 22nd March; Cambyses, son of Cyrus, on the 4th day of the New Year, 23rd March 538, celebrated a religious service in the temple, presumably in connection with his appointment as Governor of the city. The gods who had left the besieged city in the lurch were despatched back to their own temples. Gubaru had to make the necessary arrangements for the transference of the city to the Persian administration and then returned to his own Satrapy. This according to the inscriptions was the process of events, in the capture of Babylon. The narrative given by Berosus (Müller, Fragm. hist. graec. 2, 508) can be brought into agreement with these statements; the representation in the account given by

---

1 It seems that a party among the Jews which had earned for themselves and made sure the favour of Cyrus by secret support of the movement against Nabunid saw in Cyrus the Messiah (Isaiah 45, 1), while another party saw in Zerubabel the Messiah (Haggai 2, 24); *cf.* Prince, Journ. Americ. Or. Soc. 15, 1893, Proceed. CLXXXVIII.

2 A doubtful reading; the former reading was Butu, also Kisch.

3 *Cf.* Winckler, Untersuch. 131.

4 With reference to Belscharusur (Belsazar) who is not named in the inscription *see* Tiele, 476.

5 The oldest contract-tablet containing the name of Cyrus is dated as early as Tischri (25th Sept. to 24th Oct.) 539 (Strassmeier Inschriften von Cyrus, King of Babylon, Babylonische Texte, Heft VII) Leipz. 1890 p.1.

Herodotus, which includes details taken perhaps from the siege of Babylon by Darius, is incorrect[1]

According to the Greek accounts Cyrus fell in a battle against the Turanians in the north-eastern part of his empire, according to Herodotus (I, 204) it was against the Massagetæ beyond the Araxes (Jaxartes) whose queen Tomyris Cyrus desired to wed, he is disdainfully rejected, takes her son Spargapises[2] prisoner, who then commits suicide; upon this follows a great battle, the Persians are defeated and Cyrus slain, according to Ammianus Marcell 23, 6, 7, 40 Tomyris ruled over the European Scythians and Cyrus is represented as having passed over the Bosporus Xenophon makes no mention of any such expedition The story of Ktesias (Persica 6 8) sounds more probable than this tale, viz, that Cyrus fell in battle against the Derbiceans, a people on the

---

1 The important cuneiform inscriptions discovered by Hormuzd Rassam from which our information regarding the more particular details of the taking of Babylon is drawn are (a) The inscription of Nabunid on a clay cylinder from Abu Habba (Sippar) made known by Pinches, Transact Soc Bibl Archæol V, 1880, 7, Rawlinson's Inscriptions of Western Asia, V, 64, (b) The annals of Nabunid on a clay tablet from the same place, these were published by Rassam in the Transactions of the Soc of Bibl Archæol VII, 1882, 37 and first translated by Pinches in the same Transactions 189, Text in Rawlinson's Inscriptions quoted above, (c) The Cyrus cylinder from Babylon, a kind of memorial or manifesto of the capture of Babylon and the dethronement of Nabunid composed by Babylonian Scribes in the name of Cyrus, published by Rawlinson, Inscript V 35 and with translation in the Journal of the R Asiat Soc XII 1880, 70, 84 Reproduction of the Cylinder in Budge, Babylonian Life and History (Religious Tract Soc 1884), p 78 The inscriptions have been frequently translated and explained, by E Schrader in Bauer's Kyros sage u Verwandtes (Sitzungsber der Wilner Akad 1882) 7 Cuneiform inscriptions and the Old Testament 373, Halévy, Comptes Rendus de l' Acad des Inscr 1880, 264 Revue des études juives I, 9, Latrille, Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung II, 242, O E Hagen, in Delitzch u Haupt Beitrage sur Assyriol 1889 1891, cf Bezold, Babyl Litteratur 137ff Proceedings Soc. Bibl Archæol XI, 1889, 84 Utilized for historical research partly with translation of the originals, Rawlinson, Boscawen and Sayce in the 'Athenæum' and the "Academy" of 1879 and 1880 Tiele, Babyl assyr Geschichte, 468, Hommel, Gesch Babyl u Assyriens 779, 787, Oppert, Gott gel anz 1881, 1267, Büdinger, aber die neu entdeckten Inschriften des Cyrus (Wiener akadem Sitzungsber XCVII ii 11), Keipr die neu entdackten Inschriften uber Cyrus, Zweibrucken 1882, Babelon et Halevy, Annales philosophie chrét 1882, 349, Unger, Abhandl Munch Akad XVI, III, 1882, 237, Evers, Ueber die von Rawlinson und Pinches ubersetzten Inschriften (Mitthl, aus d histor Litteratur XI, 3) Das Emporkommen der persischen Macht unter Cyrus Berl 1884, Hugo Winckler, Untersuchungen zur Oriental Geschichte, Leipzig 1889 With regard to the Biblical passages on the Fall of Babylon *see* Tiele s discussion in Babyl assyr Geschichte 480, Wellhausen, Israelit u jüdisch Geschichte Berl 1894, 115, 119

2 Herodotus 4, 76, 78 has the similar probably only dialectically different, name Spargapeithes for two Scythian princes

Indian border[1]; and also that of Berosus (Eusebios ed. Aucher (Avger) I, 45, 23. ed. Schöne I, 30) that it was the Daher against whom Cyrus fought his last battle. He died in his 71st year and was buried in Pasargada in a sepulchre, resting on seven huge platforms forming a series of steps, which has been preserved, empty indeed but otherwise tolerably intact and in the Greek Asia Minor style such as is met with in Lycia. The entrance is only 1·36 metre high and once led, by means of a door hinged at the right hand corner of a small vestibule, to another door which could be opened only after the former had been closed as it turned inwards in the left hand corner at the exit from the vestibule. The room containing the grave is 2·10 metres broad, 2·10 metres high and 3·10 long, while the external breadth of the building is 5·30 metres, its length 6·30 metres and its height 5·55 metres, giving 1·60 metres as the thickness of the walls and the crown of the tent-roof stands 3½ metres above the cover of the grave. The height from the foot of the lowest step to the base of the tomb is 5·45 metres, from this point to the roof line is a height of 5·50 metres; so that the whole building is almost 11 metres high. The profiles of the base and the cornices are Greek. The sepulchre was opened in the time of Alexander and in addition to the gilded coffin of the hero were found weapons and ornaments while the walls were hung like a tent with Babylonian tapestries. Later it was once more broken into by grave-robbers and plundered. The pillars which surround the grave at a little distance from it shew a pedestal similar to that found in the Heraion in Samos; they seem, however, as may be inferred from the unequal intervals between the columns to have belonged originally to the palace and to have been transplanted hither in later times. In ancient times the tomb lay in a garden with forest trees and the Magi were entrusted with the duty of guarding it[2]. In the neighbourhood of the tomb lie the ruins of the great palace,

---

1 In Bandachschān, perhaps of Indian Stock, Sanskrit Dṛbhika, a demon overcome by Indra. *cf*. Duncker, Geschichte der Arier 753. Marquart Philologus Suppl. Band VI, 60. Eratosthenes (Strabo XI, c. 9, 1) places the Tapyrians between the Derbicans and Hyrkanians.

2 Strabo 730 (ed. Momeke 1017); Curtius 10, 1, 30; Arrian 6, 29, 4 following Aristobulus who had examined the tomb; See Brissonius de regio. pers. principatu I. c. 247; later descriptions, Rich, Babylon and Persepolis, Pl. 12; Ker Porter, Travels I, 486, 499; Flandin et Coste voy. en Perse, Paris, 1851, 2, 78 Atlas ;Pl. 83; Texier, Descript. de L'Armenie, de la Perse. II, 152, Pl. 81-83. On these descriptions is based the representation given by Fergusson, Hist. of Archit. I., 142; new sketches in Stolze, Persepolis, Berlin, 1881, 128, 129; Dieulafoy, L'art antique de la Perse paris 1884, 38. Pl. XVIII-XX; Maunsey, Journey through the Caucasus and Persia, London, 1872, 203. Similar tombs &c., in Kadyanda, Telmissūs and further those from the Roman period at Feriana in Tunis (tomb of Postumia Matronella) in Globus Ll, 1887, 22; for the present state of the building, see Edw. G. Browne, A year amongst the Persians, London, 1893, 241.

some pedestals of pillars, remains of entrance passages with traces of carving, three massive corner pillars with the inscription *adam Kūrusch xsāyathiya Haxāmanisiya* "I Cyrus, king of the Achæmenids" (erected this). This inscription stood also over the relievo on one of the door pillars of a smaller building[1] but was removed in 1877 with the block of marble on which it had been engraved The figure with four wings is chiselled after the Assyrian pattern It represented originally Hea or El (Kronos), the Persians may have seen in it one of the "genii" of their own religion[2].

The fire tower 42 feet in height is much dilapidated[3]; what is wanting can, however, be supplied from what we see in the tower in Persepolis which is preserved in its entirety Since the sacred fire may not be exposed to the shining of the sun lest its brilliance should be impaired, the fire-tower has no opening to admit the light and the outer walls are adorned with larger and a great number of tiny niches such as are seen in the Lycian cities of the dead (cemeteries), the roof consists of four long blocks of stone which are arranged to form a quite plain pyramid The oldest representation of the fire tower of Pasargada or more probably of Persepolis is found on the coins of the princes (Fratakara) of Persis in the Parthian period, the later representations are given in the works referred to in the notes In the neighbourhood lies a great terrace of dressed marble slabs, the horizontal courses extending from one end to the other but of unequal height, which is manifestly the work of Greek stone masons although the stone mason's marks appear to be oriental It is supposed that the terrace was erected by Cambyses to be the foundation of a palace which however by reason of the unusual circumstances of his brief reign did not reach completion [4]

---

1 Ker Porter, I, 492, Pl 13; Flandin et Coste Pl 178, Texier II, 11 84, Stolze Taf, 132ff One of the pillars without relievo decoration with the Inscription and with a completion of the Entablature will be found in Dieulafoy, Pl XIII XVI, Plan of the palace in the same work XII

2 Similar sculpture from Chorsabad can be seen in Botta et Flandin Monument de Ninive I, Pl 28, Place et Thomas, Ninive et l'assyrie Pl 10, 40, No 4, Justi, Geschichte orient Völker, 148, 150, on a coin of Byblos (which shows also the crown of Horus like the Persian relief), Pietschmann, Gesch d Phönicier, Berlin, 1889, 140, Vase of Kurion in the same 175, Hittite *genius* from Karkemisch (See *cf.* Bibl Archæol VII 429) Assyrian ivory plate of the Brit Museum (No 581 of the photographic reproductions)

3 Texier, Description de l Arménie, etc II, 11 85, Dieulafoy L'art ant I, 14, 15, 18, 19 Pl V Weissbach (ZDMG, 48, 653) under "Reconstruirung einer stil widrigen Treppe" considers this to be the tomb of Cyrus

4 Flandin et Coste Pl 201, 292, Stolze 136, Dieulafoy 4 Pl. III IV, *cf.* Brugsch Reise der preussischen Gesandtschaft 2,211.

Cyrus has been regarded by the entire ancient world as an extraordinary personality. The Persians whom he led from humble conditions to world-dominion called him Father (Herod. 3, 89, 160), the Greeks whom he defeated saw in him the type of the Ruler and Law-giver, (Aeschylus Pers. 768), the Jews to whom he restored their worship celebrated him as the anointed of the Lord (Messias, Isaiah 45, 1). To compare him with a Napoleon or Chengizkhan is as lacking in insight as it is in appropriateness, for although for years he never descended from his chariot of war, his conquering activity did not brutalize him ; but when he had subjected his opponent he chivalrously extended to him the hand of friendship and this was assuredly due to the influence of the religion of Light which had sprung out of the Iranian mind.[1]

Cambyses (*Kambuziya*, began his reign in the end of August 530 and died on 9th Garmapada (Ab), *i.e.*, 28th August 522)[2] succeeded his father on the throne while Bardiya (Smerdis) his other son became Governor of several provinces in the East of Iran. Cambyses after careful preparation which included the mustering of the fighting forces of all the countries over which he held sway proceeded to the conquest of Egypt then standing at the height of its prosperity which had once been allied with Crœsus and was now the only great power not yet incorporated in Persia. Before he started on his expedition he caused his brother to be put to death in order to anticipate any possible usurpation of his rule during his prospective long absence. The march through Syria and Phœnicia as well as that through the desert lying to the north of

---

1. Cf. Ed. Meyer, Gesch. d. alterth. 607-8 ; Floigl, Cyrus u. Herodot, 61ff.

2 Herodotus 2, 1-3, 1 ff. gives Egyptian narratives into which also Greek and Persian traditions have been interwoven ; Ktesias, Pers. 9 ff. (preserved in Athenaios Photius) gives the Persian tradition, however, with incorrect names ; Justinus (Trogus) I, 9 has made use of, besides Herodotus, another source which shews its great antiquity by the fact that it gives the names of the Magian correctly. The inscription of Darius on Mount Bisutum (originally Baghastâna, Behistân speaks of Cambyses I, 28, *Cf.* Oppert, Transact, Soc. Bibl. Archæol. VI, 1878, 268-270; Ed. Meyer, Kambyses in Ersch. u. Grauber's Encyclop ; Justin v. Pràschek Kambyses a podáni starovĕké. Prag. 1885. The dates given in the Egibi tablets with Cambyses' name (See Strassmeier, Inschriften des Cambyses Leipz. *1890*) are still very obscure because the manner of dating is different. Cambyses had been immediately after the capture of Babylon created "King of Babylon" but the records were dated from Cyrus as "King of the Countries" (Great King), for example in Strassmeior, Inschr. des Cyrus no. 16, from "10th Sivan of the 1st year of Kurasch, King of the Countries, Kambyses (was) King of Babylon" (27 May 1538). Two years before the death of Cyrus, Cambyses was invested with greater powers, so that the practice of dating from the years of Cyrus continued as accordingly the 9th and even the 10th year of this king are given, whereas at the same time this fixed the date according to the years of Cambyses and indeed in these words="Year

Pharaoh Psammēnītos who had just succeeded his father Amasis (Aahmes) chosen at the outset to be Satrap of the conquered country attempted a rising and was executed and the Persian Aryandes was created Governor (Herod. 3, 15. 4, 166)[1]. Since Amasis because, of his partiality for foreigners (Greeks), was hated amongst the Egyptians as, amongst other things, the chiselling away of the royal coat of arms from his sphinx shews[2], here also as in Babylon the transition to Persian rule appears to have been made easier. Cambyses carried out the same procedure in Babylon as his father ; an Apis that died in 524 was buried by him and the *Stele* on which the ceremony is depicted has been preserved, the Apis slain by him according to Herodotus 3, 29 is not included in the roll of steers immortalised by these memorial posts and the correctness of the narrative could therefore be sustained only by assuming that the substitution of another steer by the priests had been kept secret.[3] With the conquest of the Nile valley not only did a rich territory fall into the possession of the Persians, through the alliance of the Phœnicians with the Persians the island of Cyprus was withdrawn from the Egyptian rule, the Greek Sea-power on which Amasis had leaned was suppressed and a considerable check put upon the advancing tide of Grecianism[4].

Cambyses undertook a campaign against Nubia, the kingdom of Napata, and brought this country also into subjection, whereby Egypt was protected against the inroads of the Ethiopians, while the new kingdom of Maroe was established further up the Nile ; in the neighbourhood of the 3rd cataract and on the western bank of the river the city Kambysu Tamieîa (market place of Cambyses) was laid out which in the geographies of Ptolemy and Pliny is still mentioned under the name

1 According to the account given by Ktesias, which is more reliable at this point Pharaoh was banished to Persia.

2 Schiaparelli, Monumenti egiziani, Rom., 1883, 5 *Cf.* Herod. 3, 16. On the position of the Greeks in Egypt *Cf.* Mallet in the work above quoted especially pp. 277 ff.

3 Brugsch, Geschichte Aegyptens 745. Wiedemann, ægyptische Gesch. 672. Unger in the work above quoted 312, 313. Justi, Gesch. d. orient. Völker 380. For the attitude and procedure of Cambyses in Egypt the inscription on the statue of Hor-utsa-suten-net is significant. See among other authorities, Revue archeól. VIII, 1887, 37 as well as the already cited works on Egyptian history. The inscription is very favourable to Cambyses and free from suspicion for the reason that it was composed after the death of the king ; *Cf.* Práschek, 33-43.

4 Ley, Fata et conditio Aegyptiorum sub imperio pers. Kôln. 1830. K. Müller. de rebus Aegypt. sub imperio pers. gentis, Putbus 1842. Wiedemann äg., Gesch, II. 666. Ranke, Weltgeschiahte I, 209.

Cambusis. The returning army lost the greater part of its men[1] through taking the wrong road, one that led through inhospitable regions; a second army which set out to conquer the oasis of Amun (Siwa-Oase) as a position of support against the Libyan tribes was overwhelmed by a sand storm between the oases of Dachileh and Farafra. Also the conquest of Carthage had to be abandoned because the Phœnicians refused to allow their fleet to set out for the support of a campaign against their daughter city[2] That murder of Bardiya had been carried out secretly, and it was therefore possible for the Magian Gaumâta who according to Justinus had committed the murder to seize the power for himself while the King was at such a remote distance, by giving himself out in Pischiyâhuvâdâ on Mount Arakadri as the brother of Cambyses This took place on the 14th Viyachna (Adar), *i e*, 9th March 522[3] Cambyses hastened to Persia on receiving news of this event but died on the 9th Garmapada (Ab) *i e*, 28th August 522, in Agbatana, by which according to Herodotus 3, 62 64 is intended a Syrian town (Chamâth?), according to Josephus, Damascus, "having ended his own life" (literally "his own death, having death from himself") This indefinite expression on the inscription seems to have been used in order to veil the real fact, and also the introduction of the oracle of Buto which had foretold the death of Cambyses in Agbatana (Herod 3, 64) might point to an understanding between the Egyptian priests and the Magians The murder of the King is still more probable when one realises that it would have been very foolish of the Magian and contrary to all Asiatic usage in occurrences of this nature to await the arrival of Cambyses with his army.

That our sources (especially Herodotus, Ktesias Pers 12, Justin I, 9) with almost complete agreement relate that Cambyses had put an

---

1 See Maspero, Hist ancienne, Paris 1886, 600 Meyer, Gesch d alten Aegyptens 389

2 *Cf* the discussion, of this shrewd yielding on the part of the King in G Rawlinson s Phœnicia, London, 1899, p 191

3 That Gaumata had already been recognised as King before the death of Cambyses is clear from the Babylonian Contract tablets which begin from the 19th Nisan=12th May 522 (Strassmeier Zeitschr f Assyr 4, 123) Darius could admit that the government had passed into the hands of the usurper only after the death of Cambyses 9th Gaumapada (Ab) = 28th August 522 (Inschr Behist I, 42) If the contract tablets also name Airu (5 May to 2 June 523) and the 10th Elul (9th September 523) of the year of accession (*šanat rîš šarrûti*) which closes with the 23rd April 522, this does not agree with the inscription which puts off the date of the rising of the Magian, at the earliest, to the 9th March 522 Darius has accordingly ignored the recognition of the Magian which had already taken place in Babylon at an earlier date and has perhaps reckoned from a date not earlier than his rising in Persia itself.

end to his own life or died from an accidental wound arises from the fact that the real state of the case was from the very beginning concealed, perhaps because Darius did not care to touch many of the transactions connected with the rising of the Magian which might have compromised leading Persians ; he had every reason, as soon became evident, to make no enemies among them.[1]

Darius (*Dârayavahus* 522-486). With reference to the removal of the Magian, says the inscription, no one dared to lay hold of Gaumâta or even to speak about him ; with the help of Ahuramazdâ he, (Darius), with a small number of men slew the Magian and his leading followers in the fort Sikayahuvati in Gau Nisâya in Media on the 10th Bâgayâd, =27th October 522 and thus obtained possession of the Empire through the will[2] of Ahuramazdâ. The inscription (4, 83) gives the names of the Persians who stood by him as Vindafarnâ, son of Vayaspâra, Hutanaf, son of Thuchra, Gaubaruva,[3] son of Marduniya, Vidarna, son of Bagâbigna, Bagabuchscha, son of Dâduhya, Ardumanisch, son of Vahuka. Herodotus gives the same names—Intaphernes, Otanes, Gobryas, Hydarnes, Megabyzos ; only instead of the last he names Aspathines who did not indeed belong to the number of his companions but is mentioned under the name of Apatschanâ in an inscription on the tomb of Darius.[4] Ktesias gives the names Atapheraes (instead of Intaphernes), Onophas (instead of Otanes who according to Herodotus 7, 62 was his father) Mardonios (instead of Gobryas his father) Idernes (Hydarness Norondabates.[5] and Barisses.[6]

---

1 Arthur Lincke, Forschungen zur alten Geschichte I. Towards the solution of the Cambyses question. Leipz. 1891. *Cf.* the thorough statement of the conflicting accounts of the murder of Bardiya in Práschek p. 52 ff.

2 In the Babylonian translation : "under the shadow, protection."

3 According to the "relief" and according to the inscription of Naqsch-e Rustam (c) the lance-bearer (*arstibara*), Doryphorus, Adjutant to the King.

4 According to the same inscription (d) he was the "staff-bearer" (*vaθrabara* from *van* to strike *cf.* Gothic *vandus*, altn. *vonar*, English *wand*) and the receiver introducer of the petitioners δεομένουςἐισάγων in. Aelian c. *uisuvam dăsyama* from Awesta *is* to request, Skr. *iccha* and from *das* Skr. *das*, Greek δεκομαι δοκένω He had thus the office of Chiliaarch *cf.* ZDMG 50, 559, Brisson I. c. 214.

5 That is Orondabates or Orontopates who probably is the same as Orontopagas (written by mistake with *T* for *t* one of the generals of Darius in this war against the Scythians. See Marquart Philologus.

6 Herodotus has given an account of the removal of the Magian whom he 3, 65, 73. calls a Median, following a tradition that originated in the family Otanes and in the course of his narrative has joined with it an Achæmenian tradition

Darius says in the inscription "the places of worship which the Magian had destroyed (literally levelled) I have preserved (restored) likewise the meeting together of the people (intercourse), the estates and the movable property, also amongst the tribes[1] what Gaumata had taken from them (confiscated) .. restored) this tribe of ours I have restored again to its place"[2] The places of worship *âyadana* in the Babylonian translation 'houses of God' in the Susian, 'temples' are fenced hill summits with altars on which the Persians deviating in this from the strict prescription of the Awesta offered worship to Mithra, the greatest of the Bagas (gods) next to Ahuramazda, but especially to the tribal deities (*bagaibis viθibis*)[3] (Herodotus I 131

according to which Darius undertakes the chief part Ktesias has his information likewise from narratives handed down by the nobility as also Trogus (Justinus who has used in addition to Herodotus a source which brings in the genuine name Cometes, thus he names the Magian who under the orders of Cambyses puts Merdis to death and then appoints the Magian Oropastes, his brother the inscription makes no mention of a brother, Herodotus says that the Magian was likewise called Smerdis and his brother Partizeithes, finally Ktesias calls the Magian Sphentadates) (i e, new Persian Isfendyâr See Marquart Fundamente Israel u jüd Geschicht Gott 1896 p 48) the murdered Smerdis Tanaoxarkes *cf* Hutecker der falsch Smerdis Königsberg 1885 Marquart Philologus 6 Suppl Bd 1893 p 619 assumes that Justin has by mistake interchanged the roles and puts Cometes in the place of the false Smerdis that Oropastes was the brother who as Parrizeithes or Padiscâh was the intermediary in communicating with the usurp Menant has made known a representation of the slaying of the Magian carved on a chalcedony Recherches sur la glyptique orientale Paris 1886 II 168, Pl IX No 1

[1] Whose constitution he strove to destroy the Susian translation has the Locative for the old Persian Comitative

[2] *Cf* in addition to the explanations by Oppert, Mèdes 119 Spiegel Keilinschriften 90, also Darmesteter, Etudes iran 2 129 Friedr Müller, Wiener Zeitschr f d K d Morgenl I, 135 4, 308. Bang ZDMG 43, 527 Bartholomae, Grundriss d iran Phil 1, 149, 18

[3] Beside the inscription H in which this expression occurs three times stands the Susian building record differently worded and the Babylonian inscription which at the beginning is a paraphrase of H and then reproduces the inscription I, in both the expression all the gods" occurs which cannot be considered to be a translation of *bagaibis viθibis* since *viθam* (the root) is clearly distinguished from *visam* (*all*) NRa 49 53 The Susian and Babylonian express on therefore does not coincide with the Persian because the Aryan tribal constitution was foreign to the Hapirti and the Babylonians Darius himself says Beh 4, 61, 63: "Ahuramazda and the other gods", Mithra is the greatest god after Ahuramazda Cf Yascht 10, 1 Yasna 1, 11 Also among the Scythians the oath is sworn by τὰς βασιληίας ἱστίας Herod 4 68 βασιλήιοι θεοί 5 106 Brisson II, c 12 Rapp ZDMG 19, 67 Spiegel Translation of the Awesta 2, 214

Xenoph Kyrop, 8, 3, 9) and which were called Bagastāna;[1] Darius caused his inscriptions to be placed in the neighbourhood of such holy places whereby these notwithstanding their destruction by the Magians have become also the sanctuaries of history; thus he had an inscription placed on Βαγίσταvov 'όρος or Bisutūn, *i.e.*, the one which is free from props, (which does not totter), on the rocks of Naqsch-i Rustam on the heights of which is still preserved a double altar of the Bagas erected probably by a King and his queen to the family gods on both sides of the house, likewise also in the Alwand mountain range in the ravines of which inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes are engraved beneath such a sacred high-place[2]. This worship of the Bagas is not the only point which distinguishes the religion of the Persians from the orthodox Magian religion; for instance the disposal of the dead among the Magians in Media was by exposure of the dead body on the dachmas or towers of the dead, among the Persians by placing them in rock-sepulchres (at least in the case of rulers and the nobility); with the latter mode of disposal there is always associated the idea of a shadowy continued existence of the body while the other like cremation presupposes only the immortality of the souls (Herod. 1. 140)[3]. The expression "assemblies," (*h*) *abacaris*, new Persian bâzâr, *cf.* Sanskr. *sabhācara*, refers to the free market," ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά, in the neighbourhood of the palace and the official buildings, where the free Persians resorted[4]. The movable property (*naniya*, Awest *nmâniya*) will signify the possessions which travel, perhaps also the slaves who in Crete are designated by the same term μνώα[5].

The shattering of the empire through the long absence of the King and the rise of the Magian as well as the extinction of the Achæmenids of Anzan led to a general rising in which the real or pretended descendants of the rulers who had been set aside by Cyrus reckoned that

---

[1] New-Persian Baghastān, al-Chowarezmi's Mafatih al-'olum Edit. G. van Vloten 115, 10.

[2] Brugsch, Reise der preuss, Gesandtschaft I, 385.

[3] *Cf.* L. H. Mills, The Zendawesta (Sacred Books of the East XXXI 1887) p. XXXV.

[4] Xenophon, Kyrop. 1, 2, 3. Brisson, 2, c. 76.

[5] P. Kretschmer, Kuhns Zeitschr. 31, 406.

the moment had come for regaining their independence[1] Immediately after the removal of the Magian, Athrina, son of Upadarama of Huzha (or in Susan Hapirti)[2] arose and because he was really a Prince was recognised as King he was, however, soon afterwards taken prisoner and put to death Then a rising broke out in Babylon where Nidinta bara (Nidintu bel) son of Aina (ra, Babylonian Aniri) gave himself out as Nabukudratschara son of Nabunaita (Nabunahid) deposed by Cyrus, who was married to a daughter of Nebukadnezar the Great A tablet of the Banking House Egibi is dated in the year of his accession (522) on the 17th Tishri (3rd November) that is 7 days after the death of Gaumâta Darius led an army across the Tigris and defeated the Babylonians on the 27th Athriyadiya (12 January 521) and again at Zazana in the vicinity of Babylon in the 2nd Anâmaka (17th January) The city was after a short time taken and the Pretender put to death, the earliest treaty tablet with the name of Darius is of the 20th Sebebat or 5th March 521 While Darius was lingering before Babylon news was received that Persia, Susiana for the second time Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, the Sattagyds (Thataguch of whom no further mention is made) and the Saken were in a state of revolt The leader of the revolt in Susa, Martiya son of Tshintakhchri in Kuganakâ [illegible] râhpur Is achri 10) 5 [illegible] (In Susian Canma [illegible]

[1] It is [illegible] easy to fix the exact [illegible] as the [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] been fixed with certainty [illegible] would be as follows —

Babylonian	*Old Persian*	*Avestic*	*Julian*
Nisanu	Ôûravâhara	Fravasinâm	March April
Airu	Qaigradi	Maho Asahêtaho	April May
Simanu	Thuravâhara	Haurvatâto	May-June
Dûzu		Tistriyeho	June July
Abu	Garmapada	Ameretâto	July August
Ululu		Vanθraho vairyehe	August September
Tisritu	Bagayâdi	Miθrahe	September October
Arach Samna		Apâm	October November
Kislimu	Âθriyâdiya	Âθro	November December
Tebitu	Anâmaka	Daθušo	December January
Sabatu	Margazana	Vanheus manahô 5	January February
Addaru	Viyaxna	Spentaya ârmatoiš	February March

[2] The name of the son seems to be Persian, that of the father is Susian, Cf Oppert, Actes du VIme Congrès des Orientalistes, II, 1, 609

Imanish appears to have been the last King of Hapirti, see Sayce in Le Muséon 1882 p. 534) but was on the approach of Darius seized by his own people and put to death. Far more dangerous was the revolt of Fravarti in Media with which the revolts in Armenia Parthia, Sagartia and Mengiana had entered into combination and to which Herodotus makes reference. Fravarti (Phraortes) gave himself out as Chschathrita of the family of Huvachschatara (Kyaxares), that is, presumably as the grandson of a brother of Kyaxares of the same name. Darius despatched an army under the Persian Vidarna to Media, a battle at Maru (probably Marg between Kermânschâhân and Holwân)[1] on the 28th Anâmaka (12th February 521) had for its aim the blocking of the passages across the Zagros from Agbatana to Holwân and Susiana and the Persian army which could have been only a small force camped in Kampada (Kermânschâhan) till Darius himself should come upon the scene. A second army went to Armenia to which as well as to Assyria also the rebellion had spread ; Dadrschi, himself an Armenian, came upon the rebel forces at a village or hamlet (âvahana) called Zuza not far from the frontier (this suggests the Kurdish Zözân, Rich, Kurdistan II, 124 ; the geographers mention a place of this name near the island in the Tigris called Bézabdé or Gozartâ, Arabic Dschezirah) on the 8th Thuravâhara (19th April 521), and again at the fortress Tigrā in Armenia, which seems to be the Fort Till of to-day on the Tigris where the road to Bitlis branches off, on the 18th of the same month (29th April) ; a third battle took place at the fortress Uhyâma in Armenia on the 9th Thaigratschi (20th May) where this general also established a standing camp, evidently for the purpose of blocking the great King's road which ran past it on the way down from Armenia. The rebels appear to have been so overawed that half a year passed before they again began hostilities, for the third army under the Persian Vahumisa which entered the Assyrio-Armenian theatre of war met the rebels on the 15th Anâmaka (18 January 520) in an Assyrian territory, the name of which, obliterated in the inscription, is given as Izzila in the Susian translation ; then the Persians pressed forwards into the district of Autiyāra in Kurdistan, where a battle took place on the 30th Thūrāvâhara (1st June 520), after which the general also established a camp in order to await the coming of Darius. Vahumisa was commissioned to block the pass of Rovandiz which leads from Atropatene to Assyria, the battles thus took place to the north-east of Niniveh. Meanwhile the Satrap of Parthra, Vischtâspa, the King's father, had fought with the Parthian and Hyrcanian rebels at Vishpahuzati in Parthia on the 22nd Viyachna

1 Istachri 190, 2, Tabari 1, 5, 2616, 6 (In Zotenberg's translation 3, 471).

(25th March 520). Darius who had remained in Babylon[1] through the winter, partly in order with a garrison to keep an eye on the population,[2] partly in order to await news of the successes of his armies and then with forces meanwhile strengthened to strike in with his Guards where it was first necessary, marched out himself in order to overthrow his most dangerous enemy in Media, probably joining up with Vidarna in Kampada whence he proceeded against the Median capital, while the two other generals had probably to keep their eyes on the Sagartians Fravarti was driven back without a battle and took his stand against the royal army first at Kunduru in the Atropatenian mountains in the neighbourhood of *Qazvin*, where in *later* times Babek the *Ismâilian* and the Dailemites of Samîrân had their forts (Kundur near Qazvin, Yaqut 4, 309, 17) Here Darius defeated him on the 26th Adukani (25th July) and caused him to be pursued and taken prisoner in Ragâ, the punishment of high treason was inflicted upon him, he lost nose, ears, and his lying tongue and was crucified in the Median capital Hangmatāna, his companions were beheaded and their bodies exposed by hanging (according to the Susian translation) Immediately upon[3] this followed the advance of General Tachmaspâda, a Mede, against Tschithrantachma who gave himself out as a descendant of Huvachschatara (Kyaxares), thus as a kind of cousin of Fravarti and came forward as King of Asagarta (Sagartia) He was defeated, taken prisoner, lost his nose and ears and was crucified in Arbela, the capital of Sagartia[4] Another army marched from Ragâ to the assistance of Vishtâspa against the Parthians who were defeated at Patigrabanâ in Parthia on the 1st Garmapada (28th August). Margiana (*Marju* Awesta *Mouru*) which had in like manner revolted under Frāda was regained by the Persian Dâdrschi, Satrap of Bactria, by a victory won by him on the 23rd Athriyâdiya (14th January 519) The name of Frâda,[5] of whom it is not stated that he was taken prisoner and put to death, appears in the list of rebels after that of the Median and the Sagartian, but on the "relief" it comes after that of Aracha and before that of Skunka, subsequently added

[1] Babylon is the winter seat of the Persian Kings See the evidences in Brissonius *de regio Pers* principatu I, c 67

[2] Uschalami is called *pachat* (Governor, President of the Administration) in a document of 16th Tischri of the 3rd year (30th October 579), Strassmaier, Babyl Texte Darius No 82, Peiser Keilinschr Bibl 4, 1896 p 304

[3] This is deducible from the fact that the inscription joins on these events without giving a date to the revolt of Fravarti and then only says "This is what I did in Media (2, 91), and from the fact that in the list of the rebels 4, 20 Tschithrantachma s name follows that of Fravarti

[4] The Asagartians probably obtained the country of which Arbela was the capital as a reward of victory for their effective co-operation in the conquest of Assyria See Marquart Philologus LV, 231.

[5] Perhaps to be pronounced as Frahada

Thus he was taken prisoner only much later after he had like Nezak of Bâdhgês (†710) remained hidden among the mountains of that region. The fate of Gaumâta did not deter a Persian Vahyazdâta of Târava Tārem in Yutiya in Eastern Persia which was also the mother-country of the King from starting a rebellion in Persis by giving himself out as Bardija. This took place while Darius was still in residence at Babylon, for Darius says that he had despatched an army against this rebel when he started for Media (in the spring of 520 (3,32)). The Persian General Artavardiya met Vahyazdâta as early as the 12th Thūravâhara (13th May 520) at Rachâ on the Susio-Persian frontier (in Ammianus Marcell. 23, 6, 26, Aracha) and drove him back as far as Pischiyâhuvâda, probably in Eastern Persia where also Gaumâta had risen in rebellion. The rebel fell upon the retreating Artavardiya at mount Parga (more correctly *Pṛga*, the same name as that of the city Purg, in Arabic Fordsch, in Laristan, see Istachri 132, 7, Moqaddasi 423, 2, 3,) on the 6th Garmapada (2 September 520). The royalists were victorious and took the impostor prisoner. Darius caused him together with his associates to be crucified in Huvâdartschaya in Pars. The rebellion in Arachosia which the adherents of this second Pseudo-Smardis had spread to that country was more prolonged. The Satrap Vivāna (perhaps to be pronounced Vivahana) offered battle to the rebels at the fortress of Kāpischakani[1] on the 13th of Anāmaka (2 Feb. 579), then in the Gandumava[2] region on the 7th of Viyachna (27th March); the rebel leader and his chiefs were finally defeated at the fortress of Arschāda, made prisoners and put to death.

Darius records after these struggles in Arachosia a second rising in Babylon when an Armenian (Alaredian) Aracha, son of Hâldita, from the department (*dahyu*) of Dubala (to-day Debéleh on the Euphrates) gave himself out as Nabukudratschara, son of Nabunaita. This rising has been identified with that mentioned by Herodotus and assigned by him to the period of the conquest of Samos and which lasted for a year and seven months. This assumption is erroneous for the reason that we meet with no corresponding gap in the Babylonian treaty-records, even two of such records in which the name of Aracha occurs belonging to the month Elul (the sixth month, August-September) can scarcely be fitted in for the Elul in all the years that we are considering is in the tablets of Darius already filled up and the gaps which still exist in our

1 I.E., Saffron-spring *Kani* is New-Persian *kānī* (spring) Skr. *khâni* (minē, pit) since the place is a fortress, one might conjecture that *kani* is a synonym of the New-Persian *xandah*, Arabic *xandaq* (fortress-trench).

2 *I. E.*, The wheat-land. New-Persian *gandum*.

collections do not include the month Elul. It has moreover been long ago noted that not only the events mentioned by Herodotus are chronologically incorrectly arranged but also that the 18 months' siege and the *conquest of the city successful through the cunning of Zopyrus*[1] *is rather* the first, that which ended with the execution of Nidintubel.[2] In the seventh year of Darius (515) we now find in the treaty tablets a gap of 109 days which exactly ends with a record dated the 6th Sebat (Margazana) which has thus drawn up only four days after the conquest of Babylon by Vindafrana the Mede and the execution of Aracha on the 2nd of Margazana (in the Susian interpretation incorrectly given as the 22nd) as narrated by Darius.[3]

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS

In the year 514, probably, Darius began also the imposing work in commemoration for all time of the dangerous conflicts which he had conducted with marvellous swiftness and had fought in concert with excellent Generals and a *scattered army itself small enough, namely* the carving of the relievo figures and the inscriptions on the perpendicular rock face of Mount Behistan (Bagastana) smoothed for this purpose, at the confluence of the Gamasab and the river of Dinavar in Media at the giddy height of about 50 metres above the level of the valley. The relief work shows the King far above life-size in a standing posture his left foot placed on the prostrate Gaumata who is raising his arms in supplication, his left arm supported on his bow, his right raised in an attitude of command;[4] behind him stands a Persian noble with bow and quiver, and a second holding a lance with his two hands. Since two such Persians appear also at the side in the relief on the tomb of the King and are there designated Gaubaruva Patischhuvari (from Patischhuvar or Persia)[5] lance-bearers and Aspatschanâ,[6] mace-bearer or Hazarapati to the *King Darayavaush, these have been rightly identified*

1 From Aracha had a Seat of Arachan.

2 "Herodot Erklärt by H. Stein II., Berlin, 1877, 154 to 3, 160. For the Zopyrus story cf. Maspero, Hist. ancienne, 610. Marquart, Philologus Suppl. Bd. 6, 626.

3 Babylon Texte Heft X. "Inschriften des Darius, König von Babylon," by J. N. Strassmaier, Leipzig, 1892, no. 228 and 229.

4 Sayce, the ancient Empires of the East, p. 250, Herodotus I-III, London, 1888, p. 442, places the Rebellion in 513.

5 See similar old Susian representations with archaic cuneiform writing: J. de Morgan and V. Scheil in Recueil de travaux rel. à la phil. égypt. et assyr. XIV, 1892, 101. J. de Morgan, Mission Scientifique en Perse II, 107, 109, 113.

6 See with regard to this word Spiegel, Commentar über das Avesta II, XXXVIII, ZDMG. 32, 717.

with the men depicted in the sculptures of Behistun. Also the remaining figures which stand opposite the King are to be regarded as standing in a row, not behind each other as the relief shews them. They are bound together with a cord which goes round their necks and their hands are tied behind their backs; inscriptions giving their names are over their heads, only the third of the standing figures has the name standing on the coat. These are Gaumata, Ashrina, Nidintabaira, Fravarti, Martiya, Tschitrantachma, Vahyazdâta, Aracha, Frada and, added later, Skunka (see below). Over this picture hovers Ahuramazdâ, the deity, represented in human form, who with the upper part of his body standing out from within a winged ring raises his right hand in the attitude of blessing and wears in his left the ring of dominion. Since we have undoubtedly perfectly preserved sculptured pictures of the King before us it is to be regretted that we have not succeeded in obtaining photographic reproductions on a large scale.[1] The inscriptions which are to be found principally under the relief are composed in the Persian, Susian and Babylonian languages. Only the 5th column has remained untranslated into the last two of these languages. The letters were covered with a varnish of silica, perhaps also with colour. They are in excellent preservation, only a stream of water has in the course of time sought a way over the rock and seriously injured especially the Babylonian translation. The artist who with his companion workers executed this work hanging on a scaffolding had, in the 5 Persian tablets alone, which contain about 420 lines each, having on the average 45 characters, each character with from 3 to 5 wedges, to chisel about 75,000 wedges. Sir Henry Rawlinson, formerly British Ambassador in Teheran († 5 March 1895) has performed a great service in copying with the aid of a telescope those thousand-line inscriptions, in explaining them and making them known.[2] Before his time one had to be content with inscriptions numerous indeed but short and of limited content for the reading of which Grotefend[3] in the first instance furnished the key and of which some of the characters had been made known in Europe in January 1621 by Pietro

---

[1] Rawlinson, Journal of the Asiatic Society X. 1846. Flandin et Coste I. Plate 18. Ker Porter, Travels II. Plate 60 J. de Morgan, II, 98, Plate XXVI.

[2] Rawlinson, Journal of the Asiatic Society X to XII, 1846 ff. The Babylonian text is lithographed in Rawlinson's Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia III, 39, 40; the Susian autographically copied and prepared by F. H. Weisbach in "Die Achämenideninschriften zweiter Art." Leipzig 1890 (9th Volume of the Assyriological Library).

[3] The work of Grotefend has been published lately by W. Beyer in the "Göttinger Nachrichten," of September 1893.

della Valle [1] The cuneiform alphabet of the Persian inscriptions was derived under Cyrus from the Babylonian syllabic writing by choosing for the 36 characters the same number of Babylonian ideograms and giving them the sound with which the Persian word expressing the ideogram began For example, for the Persian dâtâ (law) the Babylonian ideogram for "Edict" was chosen and the sound value *d* was given to it, the ideograms were thus simplified according to definite graphical principles These have been, however, identified *only in a limited number* of cases The Medes, like the Kings of Urartu, might have availed themselves of a syllabic form of writing derived from the Assyrian

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

Events had taught Darius that an Empire built up by conquest does not automatically attain to enduring stability, and he therefore devised a form of state administration which continues up to the present day in the Eastern world and by which he has added to his military laurels the outstanding renown which belongs to him as the first Statesman in history In this also he showed himself to be a great man—one who was not trammelled by bureaucratic narrow mindedness The Greeks were allowed to retain their institutions and forms of government, the Phoenicians their kings and judges, the Jews were permitted to carry out, so far as it went, their theocratic state, in Egypt the district princes ruled as of old, while over all stood a supreme authority which was recognised by all so long as it ruled with might and wisdom Thereby was developed for the first time a conception of the State as standing above diverse nationalities The main endeavour of Darius was the maintenance of political power through the cultivation of civil law which had lost its purely Aryan character by incorporating a part of the Assyrio Semitic legal system, while the national rights, both of the Aryan and non Aryan peoples, were allowed to continue so far as they did not come into conflict with the authority of the supreme power [2] Just as Ahuramazda rules the world at the head of innumerable good spirits, and fights the powers of darkness, so the king also needed an army of officials who were carefully trained to be capable in the administration of justice, in government, and in military service [3] The training which was provided at the royal court in which in the first instance the youth of the Persian nobility and also

[1] Spiegel gives a history of this work of deciphering in Die altpers Keilinschriften' Leipzig 1881, 133

[2] Oppert, Jour Asiat VII, 3 238 Deecke, ZDMG 32 271. Sayce, Zeitschrift f Keilschriftf I, 1884, 24

[3] B W. Leist, Alt arisches Jus Civile I Jena 1892, 27ff

other boys without distinction of race or family, provided they showed capacity, were permitted to participate was to Plato and other Greeks an object of admiration and has been repeatedly described.[1] It is probable that the Satraps also set up similar institutions in their provinces [2] and that generally the example of the court did not fail to influence the youth of other parts of the Empire towards a similar preparation for their life-work. The great natural endowments of the Persians and their capacity to take a restrained and intelligent view of all kinds of affairs furnished the Empire with excellent officials and statesmen, whose activity reached its climax in upholding the unlimited power of the king over his subjects, who up to the highest Vazir and general were the servants of their lord, (*bandaka* in the inscriptions). Although at times the nobility and priesthood, as many examples in the later Achæmenian, the Parthian and the Sasanian period shew, stood out in opposition to measures taken by the king, this great monarchy created by the Persians, around the representatives of which a halo of glory (in Awesta *Xvarəno*, in new-Persian *xurrah*) shone, continued to enjoy an unimpaired reverence, and even the Greeks [3], who were convinced that in their republics they possessed a more perfect form of government and had even defeated the armies of the Persians, confessed that the Persian kingdom was great and mighty through the zeal and good fortune with which all obeyed the commands of the Great King even more than through the excellent qualities and policy of the State authority. In the administration of justice the principle, expressed also in the apparently later religious idea of judges of the soul in the other world, that crimes should be punished only after a minute investigation of the facts of the case, held good. In this the weight of the past services of the accused was balanced against the gravity of his offence and the judge could accordingly reduce or even remit the punishment as Darius himself did when he condemned Sandokes to death by crucifixion and then on account of his services to the State absolved him.[4] How seriously the matter of the righteousness of the judges was taken is shown by the history of the judge Sisamnes who on being convicted of bribery was put to death by Cambyses, similarly by the fact related by Arrian that Rakokes, judge in the time of Artaxerxes II., condemned even his own

---

1 Brissonusi II, 76. 82ff. Rapp ZDMG, 20, 103.

2 Xenoph. Cyrop. 8, 6, 10.

3 Brissonius I, 45.

4 Herod. 7, 194.

son to death. Those men appear to have belonged to the "royal judges[1]" a supreme court to which was entrusted the decision of difficult questions in the interpretation of the law and, according to Jewish writings, consisted of seven men learned in the law[2]. The punishments were cruel in the extreme Many of these no doubt owed their invention and infliction to individual bad characters among the authorities or *Megārs* such as Parysatis, still even those which were imposed by the law were startling enough When it is remembered that in the Empire of the Khalifs methods of execution far more horrible and more refined in their cruelty were practised and that even down to the present day hair-raising stories are told of what is done in the name of Chinese justice and that Alexander the Great himself sometimes adhered to this Asiatic tradition, it would seem that in the East from most ancient times people were not satisfied with simply rendering the criminal innocuous, and the theory of deterrent punishment continued to find ever stronger development. To keep us from pharisaically beating our breasts it is quite enough to take a glance into the painful method of capital punishment ordained by Charles V, or into that of the Illustrious Margraves of Brandenburg (Hof 1582 XLIXa ff) according to which the executioner received a payment of half a florin for each of the following, *viz* , for scourging with rods, for cutting off the ears, for tearing out the tongue, for gouging out the eyes, for cutting off the fingers and for the application of the instruments of torture[3] Murderers of mothers or of wives, such as Nero, butchers such as Abdallah, the founder of the Abbasid Khalifate, did not sit upon the Persian throne, and the younger Agrippina has in Parysatis only a rival

The greatest advance in the administration of justice was marked by the action of Darius (according to Xenophon, taken already by Cyrus) in abolishing private vengeance and converting it into state-vengeance in conformity with the idea of the State as the minister of justice. "It is something great," says Leist,[4] "that at a time so early the principle which the Romans reached only slowly and with a halting movement found expression, *viz* , that in public as in private affairs no one should practise revenge for himself or redress for himself[5] , but that the State by its judicial courts should be the preserver of justice"

1 Herod 3, 14, 31 2 Herod 5, 25 3 Brissonius 1, 133

4 *Cf.* Chr Meyer, die unehrlichen Leute in altrer Zeit (Virchow Holtzendorff Vortrage, Heft 193, p 19.

5 B W Leist, Alt arisches Jus Civile. 339 *Cf.* 793, 30

ZUM KĀR-NĀMAK.

Von Albrecht Goetze, Heidelberg

Das *Kār Nāmak i Artaxšīr i Pāpakān* ist eines der wenigen Pehlevi-Bücher, das sich nicht mit religiösen Dingen befasst Ausserdem ist es in einfacher Sprache gehalten Beide Umstände haben zusammengewirkt dass das Buch häufig zur Einführung in das Pehlevi benutzt wird Dem entspricht es wenn die rührigen Parsengelehrten nicht weniger als vier Textausgaben veranstaltet haben [1] Trotzdem ist der Text noch keineswegs kritisch endgültig hergestellt, vielmehr enthaelt er noch allerhand Ungeklärtes Das ist ja nur zu verständlich, denn alle erhaltenen Handschriften gehen auf das Exemplar zurück, das Rustam Mihrāpān etwa 1250 n Chr Geb geschrieben hat [2] Und dieses Exemplar, an 600 Jahre nach der Verfassung des Buches[3] angefertigt enthielt natürlich bereits mancherlei Verderbnisse — Die folgenden Bemerkungen sollen die Deutung einiger Worte und Stellen *fördern*

1 1 Ed by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, B A, Bombay, 1896
2 Ed by Kaikobad Adarbad Dastur Nosherwan Bombay, 1896;
3 Ed by Khudayar Dastur Shahriyar Irani Bombay 1899
4 Ed by Edalji Kersaspji Antia Bombay 1900

2 Vgl West Pahlavi Literature (Grdr d ir Phil II 2 III 101); Noeldeke Bezzenbergers Beiträge IV p 30 ff

Kn I 9, [illegible]

Diesen Zeichenkomplex mit der Bedeutung — Traum hat man bisher im Orient wie in Europa durch das semitische hlm—g deutet, dem die gleiche Bedeutung eignet Man vermisst jedoch am Schlusse ein [illegible], das so zahlreiche Nomina auszeichnet, die ein semitisches Vorbild wiedergeben Das Wort fehlt auch im Frahang i Pahlavīk Um so eher wird es erlaubt sein, auf ein Wort hinzuweisen, das in den mittelpersischen Manuskripten aus Turfan aufgetaucht ist xvamr; nach dem Zusammenhang heisst es "Schlaf, Schlummer" (F W K Müller, Handschriften Reste in Estrangelo Schrift aus Turfan II 53, 62, Salemann, Manichäische Studien I 92, Bartholomae, Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch 64 Note). Man wird xvamr vokalisieren Eine weitere Stütze erhält diese Lesung durch ein Wort aus dem modernen Dialekt von Avroman Sie ist umso erwünschter, als die Suffixbildung von xvamr noch ungeklärt ist Unser

1 Zitate nach der Ausgabe von Sanjana

Wort ist nâmlich dort als worm erhalten (Christensen, Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pawa = Danske Videnskabornes Selskab, Hist.fil. Meddelelser VI2, Kopenhagen 1921).

Kn. I 15. [illegible]

So ist im Anssclus an NOSHERWĀN (12) zu lesen. Die uebrigen Herausgeber bevorzugen die Lesung [illegible] Doch das seltenere [illegible] ist die schwierigere Lesung und gibt einen trefflichen Sinn. Nach BARTHOLOMÆ, Zur Kenntnis der mistteliranischen Mundarten II. p. 12 § 16 ff. und Zum sassanidischen Recht I § 3 muss *pašt i žīnhār* "Versprechen der Sicherheit" gelesen werden. Besonders deutlich ist der Sinn von *pašt* in den Ausdruck: *pašt i žanī* "Ehevertrag" (Dk. M. 76. 20).

Kn. II 6 [illegible]

Es steht im Einklang mit den Grundsatzen der Textkritik, wenn SANJANA dieses Wort in den Text setzt und ihm den Vorzug vor der Lesung [illegible] *hač ōišān* gibt, die noch NOSHERWĀN als besser bezeichnet. Zuerst spricht in II5 der [illegible] *axtar-mārān sardār* " der Oberste der Sterndenter," darauf an zweiter Stelle ([illegible] "*ditīč*) der [illegible], das ist der *murw-vēhān sardār* " der Oberste der Vogelschauer." Sachlich ist es sehr einleuchtend, dass nach einander die obersten Vetreter zweier Hauptarten der Schicksalsbefragung befragt werden. murw-vōhān ist zusammen gesetzt aus dem bekannten Worte fûr "Vogel" (aw *məzəga* np مُرغ) und dem sonst verlorenen Worte *vēh* kundig," das in mp. *nivēdēnitan* einen nahen Verwandten hat. Durch die Vertretnug d>h charakt erisiert sich das Wort als persisch.[1]

Kn. IV 17 f.

Der von Artaxšir in Artaxšīr-xurreh erbaute Feuertempel war weitberuehmt. Da die kurzen Bemerkungen, die das *Kār-Nāmak* darûber enthâlt verderbt sind, werden die Nachrichten der arabischen Geographen darûber bedeutsam. Besonders wichtig erscheint mir der Bericht des *Istaxrī*, eines persisch-arabischen Geographen des 10. Tahrhunderts. Man liest dort 1. " Gūr " (so heiszt die Stadt in muslimischer Zeit) ist von Ardešir erbaut. Es heiszt, an der Stelle der Stadt befand sich ein stehendes Wasser wie ein See. Ardešīr . . . . . .

1 Da mir der Original text nicht zur Hand ists, folge ich der Übersetzung von PAUL SCHWARZ, Iran im Mittelalter II. p. 56 ff.

[Pahlavi]

vas deh u dastkart apātānīh kart " vieler Dœrfer und Landstriche Wohlstand machte er.' Auch hierzu stimmt der Bericht des ISTAXRĪ, der an der eben zitierten Stelle fortfæhrt: " Es ist eine sehr liebliche Stadt (namlich Ardešīr Xurre), zu jedem Tor htnaus geht man eiwa eine Parasange weit zwischen Baumgærten und Landhæusern.

Kn. X 4. [Pahlavi]

Die Stelle lautet nach den Handschriften:

[Pahlavi]

andar šap ō bē-āpān-ē mat kēš īč āp u xvarišn nē but u xvat hač asəbārān u stōrān [Pahlavi] *ō gursakīh u tišnakīh mat.* Es ist unnoetig, dem ûberlieferten Text durch willkurliche Aenderungen Gewalt anzutun, denn die Redensart [Pahlavi] lâsst sich auch sonst im Buchpehlevi im Sinne von " zusammen . . . . mit " nachweisen. Fûr den nāheren Nachweis verweise ich auf BARTHOLOMÆ, Zum sassanidischen Recht III 33f. Dort ist auch gezeigt dass [Pahlavi] mit [Pahlavi] wechselt, darum auch *hamist* zu lesen ist.

Kn. XI 6 [Pahlavi]

Dieses Wort *mērak* ueberśetzte Nôldeke (BB IV 64) nach dem Zusammenhang der Stelle als " Bote." BARTHOLOMÆ (Zum sassanidischen Recht IV 50 ff.) zeigte, da dasselbe Wort auch im *Mātīkān i hazār dātestān* mehrfach vorkommt und dort den " Bevollmächtigten, Beauftragten " und allgemeiner noch den den " Geschāftsfreund " bezeichnet, (s. a. Sassanidisches Rechtsbuch 16).

A FRAGMENT OF THE SANSKRIT VERSION OF THE VIDĒVDĀT,

By J M Unvala, Ph D

PREFACE

1 The Sanskrit text published by me in this article forms part of Codd Iran XXX of the University library of Copenhagen—fol 182a 190a, 5 lines This codex is one of a collection of Zoroastrian manuscripts brought by the well known Danish orientalist Erasmus Rask from India about a hundred years ago It contains besides this seven other hetero geneous fragments of various lengths in Pahlavi and Modern Persian pertaining to the Zoroastrian religion Not only are these fragments heterogeneous, but they are written by different hands They have no colophon except the last (fol 243b) which gives the date—the 6th day of the 2nd month 1171 Y Y (= A D 1802)—but the name of the copyist is nearly effaced I can read it with difficulty Kaus marhum Dastur Feridun Surti But the fragment in question can hardly have been written by the same man, as the handwriting differs very much from that of this copyist At any rate it can be about 120 years old

2 The fragment contains the Avesta text of the *Videvdat* VIII 79 80 and IX 1 18 (the first three sentences only) with its Pahlavi version, reading of the Pahlavi version in Avesta characters, and its Sanskrit version paragraph by paragraph The Sanskrit version of the Avesta known upto date are those of the *Yasn* I LVII and of some portions of the *Khurtak Apastak* The Sanskrit version of the *Yasn* was published for the first time by Friedrich Spiegel—Neriosangh's Sanskrit Uebersetzung des Yasna, Leipzig 1861—and then by Bharucha—Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsees, part II, Bombay, 1910 The Sanskrit version of the *Aogəmadaeca* was published by Wilhelm Geiger, Erlangen 1878, whereas the collected *Khurtak Apastak* was published by Bharucha in Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsees, Part I, Bombay, 1906 Neither Geldner in the prolegomena to his Avesta, nor Spiegel, nor any other western Iranist, nor Bharucha has mentioned a Sanskrit version of the *Videvdat* in their works The latter was not aware of its existence because it is not mentioned in the plan of his Collected Sanskrit Writings given in the introduction to part I I came across it quite accidentally while I was collecting colophons of the Zoroastrian

manuscripts in the above-mentioned library. To my knowledge there exists no Sanskrit version of the *Vidēvdāt*, and, therefore, my find remains unique.

3. It is very difficult to say without any positive evidence, whether this fragment of the Sanskrit version of the *Vidēvdāt* is an original attempt of the copyist himself, or whether he had copied it from a complete version of this book. The Sanskrit is decidedly not of the type of Neriosangh's or other Parsi translator's, as in some passages it is very ungrammatical. Still it cannot be an original work of the copyist, as apart from its hopelessly incorrect orthography, syllables are often left out in the text, which can only be laid at the door of a very negligent copyist. The same is the case also with the Avesta text and its Pahlavi version. A peculiar feature of this fragment is long ritualistic glosses, which can only be understood with the help of the Gujarati translation of the *Vidēvdāt* by Aspandiarji Framji, Bombay, 1842. Still in some cases words and phrases remain obscure. I have given their attempted readings in order to give some hints to another translator, but have left out their translation.

4. The peculiarities of the orthography are the following: (1) a vertical stroke is sometimes used to mark subdivisions, but very often it is superfluous; (2) short and long *i* and *u* vowels are mixed up; (3) similarly the sibilants *ṣ*, *ś* and *s*; (4) the ligatures *kra* and *pra* are very often mixed up (s. IX, 5 seq.); (5) the *anusvāra* is often dropped or is superfluous; (6) the *visarga* is often written with one dot, sometimes it is dropped and sometimes it is superfluous. There is no doubt that the copyist is very much influenced in his orthography by that of the Parsi Gujarati dialect, which, properly speaking, has even to-day no fixed orthography.

5. I have corrected the Sanskrit text throughout, mostly without making any remark on corrections, except where it seemed extremely necessary. The *sandhis* are observed only when they are in the manuscript. The glosses are separated from the main text by a vertical stroke and are put into square brackets in the translation. Round brackets are used for redundant words in the text. An index of Sanskrit words with their meaning and Pahlavi and Avesta equivalents is given in the appendix.

6. I thank the secretary and trustees of the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Navsari for putting the unique photographs of the folios of this Sanskrit text at my disposal for publication. I am also indebted to the Librarian of the University of Copenhagen for granting me the permission for publishing a facsimile of these folios.

1 *List of abbreviations*

Av —Avesta
Caus —Causative
demon —demonstrative
fem —feminine
gen —genitive
Guj —Gujarati
Gujv —Gujarati version
incoh —incohative
Mar —Marathi
Masc —Masculine
MidPB —Middle Persian of books
Ms —Manuscript
Ner —Neriosangh
PahlT —Pahlavi Text
Pahlv —Pahlavi version
Pron —Pronoun
Skrv —Sanskrit version
Transcr —Transcription
Vd —*Videvdat* (*Vendidad*)
Y —*Yasn*
Yt —*Yasht*

Text and Translation

Vd VIII 79—80

79 यां समिधि पुण्यतया निमुञ्चति स्पितम जरथुश्त्र ॥ तु ॥ उक्ता-
गीरान् (?) ॥ तु ॥ उत्तमचन्दनस्य उत्तमकर्पूरस्य वा हीनत्वांवनस्पति वा तु
कान्वित् वा सुगंधितमाना वनस्पतीनाम् ॥ स्या ॥

79 When he lays (upon the fire) fuel with righteousness, O Spitama Jarathustra, the said aloe wood (*a*) (consisting) of the best sandal wood of the best camphor (wood) or of the plant (called) *hinata* or of any of the most sweet smelling plants (*b*)

80 यस्यकस्यान्वित् दिशि वातो आंसुगंधिं विस्तारयति ॥ तु ॥ यस्यां
कस्यान्वित् दिशि सहस्रगुणा उपरि निपतति अग्निर्महाज्ञानिन स्वामिन ॥ तु ॥
दैत्यानां तमोनिलोकिना तमोनीजाना दुर्गतिना द्विगुणतरः शाकिनीना
महाराक्षसीनान्न । महाराक्षसीत्र सा या आकशे पातालेच परिभ्रशति । इह
अग्निनाऽइसा उक्त ॥तु॥

80 In whatever quarter the wind spreads this fragrance, in that quarter the fire of the Great knowing Lord falls thousandfold upon demons, pertaining to the dark world having dark origin (and) wicked (and) twofold more on the *sakinis* and great demonesses [And the great demoness is she who falls upon the sky and upon the under world (*a*) The power of fire is mentioned here (?)] (*b*)

VIII 79 1 Ms 5आन, *cf Spiegel* Ner Y III 13

(*a*) Perhaps for अगरून् masc acc plur —(*b*) It is very difficult to explain the exact meaning of तु स्या and ढ but at any rate they are employed to separate sentences

80 1 Perhaps Guj આ demon pron this —2 Mr सुगंधि—3 Bo तस्याम् as in Av and Pahlv —4 Ms has न —5 Ms दैत्याना

(*a*) *Cf* Yt VIII 8 —(*b*) Reading and meaning is doubtful

Vd. IX. 1—18.

1. अपृच्छत् जरथुश्त्रः अहुर्म्मज्दात् । हे अहुरमज्द मेनोविलोक्य महत्तरः दाता शरीरिणां अस्थिमतां पुण्यमय ॥ तु ॥ कथं अत्र अंतर्भुवने सृष्टिमति मनुष्याः समुविलोकयंति तान् यान् सहनश्रून् तान् (सहं) मलिनीभूतान् । मृतशरीरात् पवित्रीकुर्वीति[3] । किल ये पवित्राः मनुष्याः मृतशरीरात् मलिनीभूतान् मनुष्यान् पतितान् ते कथं पवित्रीकुर्वंति[3] ॥ तु ॥

1. Jarathuśtra asked Ahurmmajda : "O spiritual (*a*) very great Ahuramajda, Creator of corporeal animals, holy One! How should men look upon those who are with the *naśru* (*b*) those who have become polluted (*c*) by a dead body, here in the material world, [*i.e.*, how should those who are pure men purify men polluted by a dead body (and thereby) fallen (from the community ?"]

2. तं अब्रवीत् अहुरमज्दः । नरः पुण्यात्मा स्पितम जरथुश्त्र ॥ त्त ॥ यो अस्ति वक्ता । किल वाक्यं शक्यते वक्तुं । सत्यवक्ता । किल येन अलीकं किंचिन्मात्रमपि भाषितमास्ते ॥ मांथीवाणीपृष्टा पुण्यात्मा । किल येन इजिस्निकृतास्ते ॥ तु ॥ प्रचुरतया मध्यं जानाति । दीन्याः माज्दईअस्न्याः पवित्रीकरणस्य । नीरंगं जानाति ॥ तु ॥ स यत् क्रमणवत्याः अस्याः जगत्याः उपछिनत्ति वनस्पतीन् ॥ ढ ॥ नवविकाशबाहुमर्यादां केषुचित् चतुर्विभागेषु नवव्यामप्रमाणं चतुष्टतः ॥ ढ ॥

2. Ahuramajda said to him: "A pious man, O Spitama Jarathuśtra, who is the speaker, [*i.e.*, who is able to speak the sentence], the speaker of truth, [*i.e.*, by whom even a little untruth has not been spoken], inquiring after the speech of the *mānthras*, (and) pious, [*i.e.*, by whom the *ijisni* has been performed], (who) knows mostly the centre, (*i.e.*, the essential part), [he knows the *nīraṅga*] of purification of the *Mājdaiasnian* religion, he should cut (lit. cuts) trees on this revolving world, to the limit of nine outstretched arms in all four quarters, [four times the measure of nine fathoms],

---

IX.—1 1 Ms. अस्थिपूतमतां "having crumbling bones" ?—2 For Pahlv. *ham*, but is superfluous in Skrv.—BMs. कुर्वंति.

(*a*) Thus acc. to Pahlv. *mōnūk*; lit. "invisible to see."—(*b*) Pahlv. *nasuś*. Skrv. नश्रु is an imperfect transcr. of Mid.PB. *nasrūst* (Pahl T. 1. 121,7). Otherwise it is written नश्रुस्त in Skrv. *cf*. Vd. ix. 15 seq.—(*c*) Pahlv. *ham-rīmanīh* "impurity got by touching, infection."

2. 1 Ms. अब्रवीत्.— 2 Ms. निव. —3 Ms. मर्यादं.—4 Ms. has the Guj. form વામ.

3. यत् अस्ति अस्यां जगत्यां [illegible] [illegible] । [illegible] (?) [illegible] । कृमिमत् । शुष्कतमं [illegible] । [illegible] तस्मिन् प्रमाणे नास्ति ॥ ह ॥ [illegible] तेन मार्गेण आनयेत् पशून् [illegible] । [illegible] ॥ ह ॥ अग्निं अहुरमज्दस्य पुत्रं बरसिमं पुण्यतया परिपालितं नरं च पुण्यात्मानं ॥ ह ॥

[illegible] earth most devoid of water, most devoid of [illegible] remove them], and fire, son of Ahuramajda, and the *barsam* arranged with righteousness and the pious man c"

4 [illegible] अग्नितः ॥ ह ॥ कियत् मर्यादा अग्नित कियत् मर्यादा उदकात् कियत् मर्यादा बरसिमात् परिपालितात् कियत् मर्यादा नरेभ्यः पुण्यात्मभ्यः ॥ ह ॥

4. 'O Creator of corporeal animals, holy One! Upto what distance a (lit boundary) from fire, upto what distance from water, upto what distance from the arranged *barsam*, up to what distance from pious men!"

5. तं अब्रवीत् अहुरमज्दः ॥ ह ॥ त्रिंशति प्रमाण अग्नितः त्रिंशति प्रमाण उदकात् त्रिंशति प्रमाण बरसिमात् परिपालितात् त्रिंशति प्रमाणि नरेभ्यः पुण्यात्मभ्यः ॥ ह ॥

5. Ahuramajda said to him "a measure a (of) thirty (steps) from fire, a measure (of) thirty (steps) from water, a measure (of) thirty (steps) from the arranged *barsam*, three measures from pious men

---

3 1 Ms. [illegible] —2 Ms. [illegible] —3 Ms. [illegible] —4 Skr. illegible. Perhaps for Guj. [illegible] barren ground on the outskirts of a village, where cattle roam.'—5 Ms. [illegible] —6 Ms. [illegible] —7 [illegible] would be better —8 Ms. [illegible]

a Cf. no 4.—b Pahlv [illegible] *hair* 'dry impurity like hair, nails, etc.'

—c Pahlv [illegible] *patmanak*.—d Thus acc. to the context lit. 'even a little.'

—e Skr. is different from Pahlv. The latter means 'in these roads small and big cattle are roaming, the least and the fire.'

4 1 Ms. अग्नितः —2 Ms. [illegible] —3 Ms. [illegible] —4 Ms. पुण्यात्मभ्यः.

a Pahlv [illegible] *drahnā* 'length, distance.'

5 1 From form, most probably on the analogy of [illegible] —2 Ms. [illegible], 4—पुण्यात्मेभ्यः

a This word is written also [illegible], but as [illegible] has no sense and in a number of cases प्रमाणं is distinctly written, I prefer the reading [illegible]. [illegible] 'step' would, of course, be better, as it would correspond to Pahlv. *gām*

6. प्रथमां उपरि शिलां निक्षेपयेत्[1] । या गोमूत्रस्य । पश्चात् उष्णकालस्य उपरि प्राप्ति द्वि अंगुलानि मापं[2] । पश्चात् उ ति[3] अनंतरः ॥ ढ ॥ पश्चात् ॥ हिमकालस्य न्यायवर्तः उपरि प्राप्तेः यावंति चत्वारि[5] अंगुलानि ॥ ढ ॥

6. He should cause to lay the first stone (*a*), [which is of bull's urine];after the advent of summer two fingers (deep) (*b*) in measure [after etc., which follows immediately] (*c*) ; after the advent of regular (*d*) winter as much (deep) as four fingers.

7. न्यायवान् द्व शिलाः । गोमूत्रस्य । निःखनयेत ॥

7. He should dig two regular (*a*) stones [of bull's urine].

8. कियत् अन्यस्य एकांद्वितीयिश्च ॥ ढ ॥ यावन्मात्रं एकं क्रमं ॥ ढ ॥ किंदृशं एकं क्रमं ॥ ढ ॥

8. How far from each other (*a*) ? As far as one step. What is (meant by) a step ?

9. तिस्र अन्याः शिलाः निःखनयेत् । या उदकस्य ॥ ढ ॥ पश्चात् उष्णकालस्य उपरि प्राप्तेः द्वि अंगुलानि मापं ॥ ढ ॥ पश्चात् हिमकालस्य न्यायवतः उपरि प्राप्तेः यावंति चत्वारि अंगुलानि । न्यायवत् उ. ति दीन्या उक्तस्य ॥ ढ ॥ कियन्मात्रं प्रथमाभ्यो । या गोमूत्रस्य । यावन्मात्रं त्रि क्रम ॥ ढ ॥ किंदृशं त्रिक्रमं । यावन्मात्रं प्रमाणं । यं प्रमाणं गृहीतं मुक्तं ॥ ढ ॥ कियन्मात्रं प्रमाणं । यावन्मात्रं नव पदं ॥ ढ ॥

---

6. 1 Ms. निक्षितयेत् ? ; thus acc. to the sense of the Guj. commentary.—2 Ms. मा; most probably Guj. માપ "measure."—3 It is an abbreviationof उष्णकालस्य उपार प्राप्ति.—4 Thus acc. to § 9. Ms. न्यायवत्.—5 Ms. चित्वारं.

(*a*) Pahlvi. [Pahlavi] *magh* "hole." As three or five blocks of stones are placed at present in India in such a way, that they form a hole between them, Skrv. renders [Pahlavi] invariably by शिला. Gujv. has પહોળીઉં.—(*b*) Pahlv. [Pahlavi] *pa nikōnih*; Av. [Avestan] "depth," is omitted in Skrv.—(*c*) This abbreviation ought to be in § 7.—(*d*) I.e. "cold and frosty" as winter should be. It corresponds to Pahlv. [Pahlavi] *snēxōmand*, Av. [Avestan] "frosty, icy."

7. (*a*)

8. 1 Ms. कर्मं.

(*a*) Pahlv. [Pahlavi] *ān . . hač an ē* "that . . . from the other." The gen. in Skrv. corresponds to the *i—izāfet* in Pahlv. अन्या एका द्वितियया: would be better.

9. 1 Thus acc. to § 6 Ms. मु: ?

9. He should dig three other stones (a), [which are of water], after the advent of summer two fingers (deep), after the advent of regular winter as much (deep) as four fingers. [regular etc, refers to that spoken of by the religion] How far from the first ones [which are of bull's urine]? As far as three steps. What is (meant by) three steps? As much measure (of distance) (b) as [the measure (of distance of steps) taken one after another (lit. taken and left off)] (c). How (long) is the measure (of distance) (c)? As (long) as nine steps.

10. रेखाः रेखयेत् तीक्ष्णलोहेन ॥ ट ॥ कियन्मात्रं शिलाभ्यः ॥ ट । यावन्मात्रं त्रि क्रमं । किंदृशं त्रि क्रम । यावन्मात्रं प्रमाणं । यत् प्रमाणेन प्रमाणं गृहीतं मुक्तं ॥ ट ॥ कियन्मात्रं प्रमाणं । यावन्मात्रं नव पदं ॥ ॥

10. He should draw lines (a) with a (piece of) sharp metal. How far from the stones? As far as three steps. What is (meant by) three steps? As much measure (of distance) as [the measure (of distance of steps) taken one after another (lit. taken and left off)]. How (long) is the measure (of distance)? As long as nine steps.

11. ततः पश्चात् द्वादश रेखाः आरेखयेत् ॥ ट ॥ तिस्रः । याः मध्याः ‡ या विभिन्नार्थे मध्यासु तिसृषु । शिलासु । आरेखयेत् । तिस्रः याः प्रथमाः गृहाण तत्र तिस्रः रेखाः परिवर्तुलं व्यापृत्य आरेखयेत् ॥ ट ॥ तिस्रः । याः मध्याः । भिन्नासु मध्यासु षट्सु । शिलासु । आरेखयेत् । षट् याः गोमूत्रस्य गृहाण तत्र तिस्रः रेखाः परिवर्तुलं व्यापृत्य आरेखयेत् ॥ ट ॥ तिस्रो । याः मध्याः विजनासु मध्यासु नवसु । शिलासु । आरेखयेत् । नव शिला गृहाण तिस्रः रेखाः परिवर्तुलं व्यापृत्य आरेखयेत् ॥ ट ॥ तिस्रः । मध्यासु पुरः पश्चिमायाः । शिलासु । आरेखयेत् । शिलासु उदकशिलासु । पश्चिममध्यासु गोमूत्रशिलासु । मध्याः तिस्रः । शिलाः गृहाण तत्र तिस्रः रेखाः परिवर्तुलं व्यापृत्य आरेखयेत् ॥ ट ॥ त्रितयं उपरि नव पदं ॥ ट ॥ आत्मनैव । शिलायां आगत्य घर्षयेत् । किल श्लीनयेत् ॥ ट ॥ समिधं वा मधुरं । समिधं इति काष्ठं ॥ ट ॥ जगतीं रिक्तिणीं वा । मृत्तिकां परिस्फुटितां ॥ ट ॥ कांचित् च क्षितिं रुद्ध्वा । सताकथन ? मृत्तिका सिकता किंचित् ॥ ट ॥

(a) Cf. § 6, no a.—(b) Pahlv. [illegible] *ham gāmunih* "taking steps one after another." Av. [illegible] is omitted in Skr.—(c) Pahlv. [illegible] [illegible] *stānat nihet.*

10. 1 Ms. प्रमाणों.—2 Ms. प.—3 Ms. adds प प्रमाणं.

(a) Furrows are meant here.

11. 1 I have taken it in the sense of विमति "separated (in opinion)"—2 Ms. परिवर्तुल.—3 Ms विभिन्नासु.—4 Ms. षट्.—5 Ms. विजनासु—6 Ms. पांसु. 7 Ms. puts a wrong stop after it.—8 bis Ms. आरेखमानेत् ?.

11. Thereupon he should draw twelve lines. He should draw three (lines), [so that there are holes], which are around the (thus) separated holes—[the three stones]—, [taking the first three (holes) he should draw there three lines (thus) separating (them) from all sides]. He should draw three (lines), [so that there are holes], which are around the (thus) separated holes—[the six stones], [taking the six (holes) for bull's urine he should draw there three lines (thus) separating (them) from all sides]. He should draw three (lines), [so that there are three holes], which are around the (thus) separated holes—[the nine stones]—, [taking the nine (holes) he should draw there three lines (thus) separating (them) from all sides]. He should draw three (lines) around the holes from front and from behind—[the stones]. Around the stones—[the stones for water]—, and around the last holes—[the stones for bull's urine], [he should draw there taking holes—the three stones—three lines (thus) separating (them) from all sides]. (Taking with him) three (lit. triad) (stones) to cover the distance of nine steps, and having himself come to the stones (the holes are meant here) he should fill (them) up [*i.e.*, he should fill (them) up to overflowing] with fuel or blocks of wood (?) [fuel, *i.e.*, wood], or with loose earth, [broken earthenware]. or with something (like) baked (?) clay (*a*).

12. पश्चात् उपरि तेन आगमनेन शिलायां आगत्य उपरि विशेत् स योऽस्ति उपरि नश्रुस्तः। किल यो नसामलिनः ॥ ढ ॥ ततस्त्वं जरथुश्त्रः ऊर्द्धमूत्रिटेण (?) उपरिपक्षेत् रेखायात् पक्षात् दक्षिणात् ॥ ढ ॥ अत् इमां वाचं आघोषयेत्। यत् नमः या स्पिंदार्मदा महत्तरा। किल या संपूर्णमानसा पृथ्वीमहत्तरा तास्या नमः ॥ ढ ॥ प्रत्युत्तरेण अस्यापि आ आवादयेत् तस्य यो नसामलिनः ॥ ढ ॥ नमो या स्पिंदार्म्मदा महत्तरा। किल या संपूर्णमानसा पृथ्वीमहत्तरा तास्या नमः ॥ ढ ॥

12. Then having arrived (lit. with that coming)—having entered the stone, he who has come into touch with the *nasā* impurity, [*i.e.*, he who is polluted by the *nasā*] should sit on it. Thereupon Jarathuśtra should approach (*a*)———from the line from the right side; then he should recite this phrase: "Obeisance (to her), who is the great

(*a*) In order to understand this passage see *Darmesteter*, Le Zend Avesta Vol. 2, the plan facing p. 162. (Paris 1892). Loose earth is used at present to fill up these holes.

12. 1 Ms. नसामलेन·. —2 Thus acc. to Av. Ms. has अ अ० उ० मांत्व.—3 Ms. निमः.

Spindārmadā" [i e, obeisance to her, who is complete mindedness (b), the great one of the earth (c) He who is polluted by the nasā, should speak by way of response to him Obeisance to her, who is the great Spindārmadā, [i e., obeisance to her, who is complete mindedness, the great one of the earth]

13. तत् सो द्रुजः अक्षमः भवति काश्चित् वा वाचोर्भिर्द्वयोरपि ॥ ढ ॥ शस्त्रं (म) इतरि अदृश्ये दुर्गतिमते। आहर्म्मन। किल शस्त्रघातिः अस्मिन् एतस्मात् भवते ॥ ढ ॥ शस्त्रं क्रोधे हिंसाशस्त्रिणेः ॥ ढ ॥ शस्त्रं माजदर-देशियेषु देवेषु। किल शस्त्रघातः एतेषु एतस्मात् भवति ॥ ॥ शस्त्र विश्वेषु देवेषुं विभ्रमकारेषुच दुर्गतिर्षु ॥ ढ ॥

13 Then that drūja becomes powerless by each of (these) two words (a) (It is) a weapon against the invisible wicked smiter [Āharmmana], [i e, smiting down—weapons against them takes place through it], a weapon against anger possessing a deadly weapon, a weapon against the demons of the country of Mājandara, [i e, smiting down—weapons against them takes place through it], a weapon against all wicked demons causing confusion

14 गोमूत्रं पश्चात् उपरि क्षेपणीयं लोहचाटूकेनं वा सीसकचाटूकेन वा ॥ ढ ॥ यदिच सीसकचाटूकेनं उपरि सिंचयेत् वंश समीहं जरथुश्र। यत् नवपनवपर्वकमात् चिनमुत्ते (?) आभावितमास्ते ॥ ढ ॥ तत्व सीसकचाटूक पुरः पक्षे तस्य वंशस्य। किल निबंधय ॥ ढ ॥

14. Then bull's urine should be poured (on him) by means of an iron spoon, or a lead spoon If thou pourest it on (him) by means of a lead spoon, seek (lit desire), O Jarathuśtra, a bamboo, which is provided *with nine knots ,Then [bind] the lead spoon to the top* (lit fore part) of that bamboo —

---

13 1 Ms आताकिश्चेत् —2 Ms वचोति —3 Ms घाति — 4 Ms शेखण —5 These words do not pertain to this paragraph They are quoted from the parallel passage Y XXVII †, 1

(a) For Pahlv ۲ﻭﺗ, better, ۲ﻭﺩ dorin ' twofold '

14 1 Ms चाटुकिन It is not a pure Skr word, but seems to be a Sanskritism of a dialectical word, probably Mar, चाटु 'a spoon "—2 Ms अर्मिय

15. हस्तौ तस्य[1] प्रथमं प्रक्षापयेत् । कूर्परं[2] यदि ॥ ढ ॥ यदिच[3] तौ[4] हस्तौ न[5] प्रक्षाते ततः[6] समग्रां[7] स्वीयां तनुं अपवित्रां कुरुते ॥ ढ ॥ यदिच तौ हस्तौ (व) प्रक्षाति । आ त्रिधा[8] । किल त्रीन् वारान् हस्तौ परिवर्तुलं[9] यावत् हस्तौ पुंचयं[10] । द्वितीयो च द्वौ अपि हस्तौ कूर्परात् यावत् अंगुलीनां । त्रीन् वारान् विभिन्नविभिन्नौ एकैकवारं आदौ हस्तौ दक्षिणस्तने वामं[11] संघर्येत् हस्तक्षानं कार्यं कूर्परात् यावत् अंगुलीनां त्रीन् वारा न् विभिन्नौ एकैकं वारं आदौ हस्तौ दक्षिणस्तने वामं[11] संघर्येत् हस्तक्षानं कार्यं कूर्परात् यावत् अंगुलीनां किंचित् अग्रात् अंगुलीनां किंचित् अग्रात् अंगुलीनां यावत् कूर्परात्[12] उक्तं ॥ ढ ॥ पश्चात् प्रक्षातेभ्यः हस्तेभ्यः मस्तकं तस्य वदनस्य[13] गोमूत्रं[14] । उपरि सेचयेत् । पश्चात् उति[15] अनंतरं ॥ मस्तकं परिवर्तुलं[16] उपरि प्रक्षाति । पुरः पक्षे । पक्षेण यं यथा केशाः स्थूलाः[17] शिरसि समुदिताः संति प्रक्षालयेत्[18] ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो यो नसुस्तः स संमुखं[19] गतस्य नरस्य अर्धात् पक्षात् वदनस्य[20] उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥

15. He should first wash both his hands [upto the elbow]. If he does not wash both hands, he makes his whole body impure. If he washes his two hands thrice [*viz.*, three times both hands all around upto the wrist, for the second (time) again both hands from the elbow upto the fingers; three times separately, every time beginning with both hands he should sprinkle (with bull's urine) the right chest (and then) the left. The act of washing the hands (is to be repeated) three times separately from the elbow upto the fingers, every time beginning with both hands he should sprinkle (with bull's urine) the right chest (and then) the left. The act of washing the hands (is to be repeated) three times from the elbow upto the fingers, somewhat from the tips of the fingers upto the elbow, (as) it is said]. Then he should pour with the washed hands [bull's urine] on the skull of his head (*a*.) [Then upto the immediately following. He washes his skull all around (especially) in the fore part, [in the part where hair has grown thick on the head, he should wash it]. Thereupon the *drūja*, who is *naśrusta* (*b*,) having come in front of the man (*c*,) runs away to the middle part of his head.

15 1 Ms. तेस्य.—2 Ms. कूर्पम.—3 Ms. यदितिच.—4 Ms. ते.—5 Ms. च ?—6 Ms. रता.—7 Ms. समग्रं.-8. Ms. त्रिघ ?—9 Ms. परिवताले.—10 It is very difficult to trace this word to Skr. It is perhaps sanskritized Guj. પોંચી "wrist. Pahlv omits this whole gloss.—11 Ms. वामः.—12 Ms कूर्पर. —13 This is a defective transcr. or Av. [illegible] Pahlv. [illegible], *vaghdhān*-14 Ms. मूत्रं.—15 This must be some sign of abbreviation; *cf.* § 6, no 3.—16 Ms. परिवर्त्तल्यं.—17 Ms. स्ठूलाः—18 Ms. प्रक्षातलयेत्.—19 Ms. सम्मुखाम्.—20 Ms. दुयआंति ?

a Cf. No. 13.—*b Cf.* § 1 no. *b*.—*c* Thus also Pahlv., whereas Av. [illegible], which acc. to *Bartholomae*, is a corruption of an old word, means "the bridge of the nose," the part between the forehead and the nose of a man; *cf.* Air Wb., 1808.

16. संमुखं गतस्य नरस्य[1] अर्धात् पश्चात् वदनस्यं उपरि सिंचयेत् । ललाटं लोचने नासिकां कपोले उपरि ओष्ठमर्यादां[3] इति एवं अर्धमुखं प्रक्षालयेत्[4] ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो यो नश्रुस्तः पश्चात् श्चेवं वदनस्यं उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥ पश्चात् यं तस्य वदनस्यं उपरि सिंचयेत् । वदनस्य पश्चात् चतुर्भं (?) तस्मात् स्थानात्[6] यत्र केशाः स्थूलाः[7] समुदिताः संति । यावत् पृष्ठोशास्त्रभिगि (?) स्थूलः इत्येतत् प्रक्षालयेत् ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो [यो] नश्रुस्तः प्रत्येति मूर्धचिबुके उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥ प्रत्याभिमुखं तस्य चिबुकं उपरि सिंचयेत् । चिबुकं अधरोष्ठात् हिदयास्तिभयादि (?) कर्णमूलकं तसमं (?) चतुरभं प्रक्षालयेत् ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो [यो] नश्रुस्तः दक्षिणं[8] कर्णं उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥

16. He should pour (bull's urine) on the middle part of the head of the man, before whom (the *drūja*) has come—[he should wash the fore-head, the eyes, the nose, the cheeks upto the limit of the lips, thus he should wash half of the face] Thereupon the *drūja*, who is *naśrusta*, runs away (thus) verily behind the head Then he should pour (bull's urine) on the head, [on the head behind....that place, where hair has grown thick. When he washes the thick backbone] (*a*,) then the *drūja*, who is *naśrusta*, comes on to (and) runs away to the chin of the face (head sic.) He should pour (bull's urine) towards him on his chin. [He should wash four times(*b*) the chin from the lower lip........upto the roots of the ear............]Thereupon the *drūja*, who is *naśrusta*, runs away to the right ear.

17. दक्षिणं[1] तस्य कर्णं उपरि सिंचयेत् ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो यो नश्रुस्तः वामं[2] कर्णं उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥ वामं तस्य कर्णं उपरि सिंचयेत् । कर्णं परिवर्तुलं एवं यथा विभ्रमतं अस्ति । मध्यं सर्वं यत् सूर्यनिरीक्षं द्विअंगुलविस्तारिणं स्कंधेनं सहभुजामामर्यादं प्रक्षालयेत् ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो यो नश्रुस्तः दक्षिणां भुजां उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥ दक्षिणां तस्य भुजां उपरि सिंचयेत् ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो यो नश्रुस्तः वामभुजां उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥ वामां तस्यं भुजां उपरि सिंचयेत् ऊर्ध्वस्तनअधकरव्याससीमां यावत् पश्चात्ये यत्रकुत्रापि भुजास्थिकूर्परक प्रचलति पुरस्तने उपरि मर्यादां इत्येवं परिवर्तुलं भुजां क्षालयेत् ॥ ढ ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो यो नश्रुस्तः दक्षिणां कक्षां उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥

16. 1 *Cf* § 15, no 10 — 2. *Cf* § 15, no 13 — 2. bis. Ms has ततः after it. — 3. Ms उष्टमर्यादं. — 4 Ms प्रक्षालयेत् — 5 Ms, नजो ? — 6. Ms स्थानात् — 7. Ms स्थूला' — 8 Ms दक्षणं.

(*a*) The meaning remains doubtful — (*b*) Thus acc. to Pahlv.

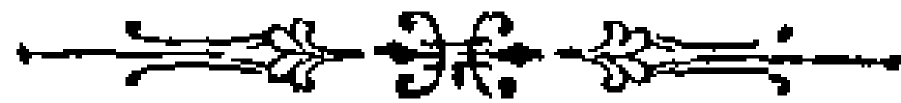
17. 1. *Cf*. §10, no. 8. — 2. Ms. वाम. — 3 Ms. पारत्तल. — 4. Ms. गतस्य.

17. He should pour (bull's urine) on his right ear. Then the *drūja,* who is *naśrusta,* runs away to his left ear. He should pour (bull's urine) on his left ear, [the ear all round just as it is......He should wash the whole of the waist, which is exposed to the Sun to the extent of two fingers, and the shoulder upto the limit of the root of the arm.] Then the *drūja,* who is *naśrusta,* runs away to his right arm. He should pour (bull's urine) on his right arm. Then the *drūja,* who is *naśrusta,* runs away to the left arm. He should pour (bull's urine) on his left arm [upto the limit of the width of the lower arm beginning with the upper part of the chest, then upto where the bone of the arm goes upto the elbow he should wash the arm all round upto the limit of the fore part of the chest] (?) Thereupon the *drūja,* who is *naśrusta,* runs away on his right arm-pit.

18. दक्षिणां तस्य कक्षां उपरि सिंचयेत् ॥ ततः सो द्रूजो यो नश्रुस्तः वामकक्षां उपरि दुर्गच्छति ॥ ढ ॥ वामां तस्य कक्षां उपरि सिंचयेत् ॥ ढ ॥

18. He should pour (bull's urine) on his right arm-pit. Then the *drūja,* who is *naśrusta,* runs away on his left arm-pit. He should pour (bull's urine) on his left arm-pit.

Glossary of Select Words



अक्षम "powerless", IX, 13, Pahlv *akār*

अक्षम भू "to become powerless", Pahlv. *akār būtan*, Av with and ; pass "to be stretched on the ground, to be made powerless"

अगोरु perhaps for अगरु "aloe-wood."

अग्नि "fire", VIII, 80, IX, 3, 4, 5, Pahlv *ātaš*, Av

अग्र "tip (of the finger)", IX, 15

अङ्गुल "finger, a finger's breadth", IX, 6, 9; Pahlv *angust*, Av.

अङ्गुली "finger", IX, 15

अत्र "here", IX, 1, Pahlv omits, Av

अदृश्य "invisible", IX, 13, Pahlv. *mēnuk*, Av

अधकर "lower arm", IX, 17

अधरोष्ठ "lower lip", IX, 16, Pahlv *rux* "face", or (*goš*) *lān* the lower part of the ear

अनन्तर "immediately following", IX, 6, 15

अन्तर् "in", IX, 1, Pahlv *andar*

अन्य "other", IX, 8, Pahlv *ān*, Av

अपवित्र "impure", IX, 15, Pahlv *ayozdasr*, Av

अर्ध 'half, middle', IX, 15, 16, Pahlv *andarron* Av

अर्धमुख "half of the face", IX 16

अलीक "untruth", IX, 2, Pahlv *droy*

अस् "to be", IX, 2, Pahlv *hastan*, *ēstātan*, Av

अस्थि "bone", IX, 17

अस्थिमत् "corporeal", IX 1, 4; Pahlv *astōmand*, Av

अहुर्मज्द prop n, IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, Pahlv *ōhrmazd*, Av

आ 1 "upto"; IX, 15; Pahlv. *tāk.* 2, "this", Guj. આ; VIII, 80 Pahlv. *ān.*

आकाश "sky"; VIII. 80.

आगमन "coming, arriving"; IX. 12; Pahlv. *āwurišn* "bringing," perhaps for *matišn*; Av. "going towards."

आत् "thereupon"; IX, 12; Pahlv. *aδak*; Av.

आत्मन् "self, oneself"; IX, 11.

आदि "beginning"; IX, 15.

आहर्मैन्न prop. n. the evil spirit; IX, 13.

इ with प्रति "to come on to, rush towards"; IX, 16; Pahlv. *apar davāristan*; Av. "to fly," incoh. with "to fly towards."

इजिस्नि "the *yasn* ceremony"; IX, 2; Pahlv. *yašt.*

इति "thus"; IX, 16.

इयम् f. "this"; X, 12; Pahlv. *ēn* Av.

इह "here"; VIII, 80.

इसा *?* VIII, 80.

ईह् with सम् "to desire"; IX, 14; Pahlv. *xᵛāstan*; Av.

उक्त "said"; VIII, 79, 80; IX, 9,

उत्तमकर्पूर "the best camphor-(wood)"; VIII, 79; Pahlv. *hukart*; Av. ; Gujv. સારૂં અગર "good aloe-wood."

उत्तमचन्दन "good sandal-wood"; VIII, 79; Pahlv. *huyōn,* Av. ; Gujv. સારૂં લોબાન "good frankincense", whereas it renders Av. ; Pahlv. *rāsn* by સુખડ "sandal-wood."

उदक "water"; IX, 4, 5; Pahlv. *āp* Av.

उपरि "on, upon"; IX, 6 and often; 1 Pahlv. *apar*; Av. 2 Pahlv. *ō*; Av. , IX, 12;

उपरिनश्रुस्त "polluted by the *nasā*"; IX, 12; Pahlv. *apar-rist*; Av.

उष्णकाल "summer"; IX, 6, 9; Pahlv. *hāmīn*; Av.,

ऊर्ध्व "high, raised"; IX, 11; Pahlv. *saxt*; Av.

एक "one"; IX, 8; Pahlv. ; *ēvak*; Av.

एकाद्वितीया ? "each other"; IX, 8; Pahlv. *an i* "the other"; Av.

एष m., एतत् n., "this"; IX, 13; Pahlv. *aš* ° *š*

ओष्ठ "lip", IX, 10

क masc का fem with चित् "any whatsoever", VIII, 79, 80, Pahlv [illegible] *kutir či č*, Av [illegible] masc, [illegible] fem

कक्षा "arm pit", IX, 17, 18, Pahlv [illegible] *kuš*, Av [illegible]

कथम् "how", IX, 1, Pahlv [illegible] *čiyon*, Av. [illegible]

कपोल "cheek", IX, 16

कर्ण "ear", IX, 10, 17, Pahlv. [illegible] *guš*; Av [illegible]

कार्य "work", IX, 15

काष्ठ "wood" for fuel, IX, 11

किंचन "something, thing", IX, 11, Pahlv [illegible] *čič*

किंचिन्मात्र "even a little", IX, 2, Pahlv [illegible] *kam*

किंचिन्मात्रमत्र adv. "absolutely", lit, "even a little", IX, 3, Pahlv [illegible] *kamist či*, Av [illegible] "the least"

किदृशम् adv "*how*"? IX, 8 and often, Pahlv [illegible] *čiyon*, Av [illegible]

कियत् "how great, how far? how long?", IX, 4 and often, Pahlv [illegible] *čand*, Av [illegible]

कियन्मात्रम् adv "how much (afar)?", IX, 9 and often, Pahlv [illegible] *čand*, Av [illegible]

किल "that is, namely", IX, 1, Pahlv [illegible] *ku*

कुत्र "where", IX, 17

कुत्सित "impurity", IX, 3, Pahlv [illegible] *hixr* "dry impurity" like hair, nails, etc

कूर्पर "elbow", IX, 15, Pahlv [illegible] *aršnez* "wrist of the hand" (*Hošangji*), West "elbow"

कृ "to do, make", IX, 15, Pahlv [illegible] *kartan*, Av [illegible]

कृ with पवित्री "to purify", IX, 1, Pahlv [illegible] *pāk kartan*

कृत "done", IX, 2, Pahlv [illegible] *kart*

केश "hair", IX, 15, 16, Pahlv. [illegible] *mus*

क्रम "step", IX, 8, Pahlv [illegible] *gām*, Av [illegible]

क्रमणवर्ती "revolving", IX, 2, Pahlv [illegible] *vitarkomand*, Av [illegible] "surface."

क्रोध "anger", IX, 13, Pahlv [illegible] *ešm* (written *ašm*), Av [illegible]

क्षल् "to wash", with प्र ibid, IX, 15, 16

क्षिति "land, earth", IX, 11, Pahlv [illegible] *zamik*

क्षिप् "to throw, to pour", आक्षिपत्, Pahlv [illegible] *asinjitan*, Av [illegible] with [illegible]

क्षिप् with नि, caus. "to cause to throw, to lay"; IX, 6; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] bē britan; Av. [Avestan script] with [Avestan script] "to dig out."

खन् with निस् "to dig out"; caus. निःखनय "to cause to dig out"; IX, 7, 9; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] bē britan; Av. [Avestan script] with [Avestan script] "to dig out."

गम् with आ "to come"; आगत्य IX, 11.

गम् with उद् "to rush on to, to fall upon"; IX, 15 and often; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *apar davāristan*; Av. [Avestan script] "to fly"; incoh [Avestan script] with [Avestan script] "to fly towards."

गृहाण "taking"; IX, 11.

गृहीत "taken"; IX. 9, 10; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *stānēt* "he takes away".

गोमूत्र "bull's urine"; IX, 6 and often; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *gōmēz*; Av. [Avestan script]

घात "smiting"; IX, 13.

घाति "smiting"; IX, 13.

घृ with सम् "to sprinkle, to moisten"; IX, 15.

घोष् with आ, caus. आघोषय "to recite"; IX, 12; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *drēnjītan*; Av. [Avestan script]

चतुर् "four"; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] 4.

चतुरश्रम् "four-cornered; four times;" IX, 16; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *4-ēvak* "one-fourth."

चतुर्विभाग "four sides, quarters"; IX, 2; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *čaθru-šutak*; Av. [Avestan script] "side of a square."

चतुष्टतस् adv. "four times|"; IX, 2.

चत्वार "four"; IX, 6, 9; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] 4; Av. [Avestan script]

चप् "to fill"? caus. चपय "to press down";- IX, 11; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *burtan*; Av. [Avestan script] "to carry"

चाटूक "spoon"; IX, 14; cf. Mar. चाटू

चिबुक "chin"; IX, 16; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *patišx^{v}ar*; Av. [Avestan script] [Avestan script] "the upper part of the face, comprising the front and ears."—The ears are meant here. (*Bthl.* Air Wb. 838-39).

छिद् with उप "to cut; to fell (trees)"; IX, 2. Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *britan*; Av. [Avestan script]

जगती "earth"; IX, 2, 3; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *zamīk*; Av. [Avestan script]

जरथुश्त्र prop. n. VIII, 79, IX, 1, 2, 12, 14; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *zartušt*; Av. [Avestan script]

ज्ञा "to know" with मध्यम् "to be well-versed in"; IX, 2; Pahlv. [Pahlavi script] *andar dānistan*; Av. [Avestan script] with [Avestan script] "to know thoroughly."

ततः "then, thereupon", IX, 11, Pahlv. *aδaL*, Av.

तत्र "there", IX, 11.

तनु "body"; IX, 15, Pahlv *tan*, Av.

तमोबीज "having a dark origin", VIII, 80; Pahlv. *tam-tōxmak*, Av.

तमोविलोकिन् "pertaining to the dark world", VIII, 80, for Pahlv. *mēnūL* "spiritual", Av. ; Gujr.

तिस्रः f. nom. and acc. plur. "three", s. त्रि

तीक्ष्णगुण "sharp", IX, 10, Pahlv. *tiγ*, Av.

त्रि "three", IX, 5, Pahlv. ور *3*, Av.

त्रितय "triad", IX, 11

त्रिधा adv "thrice", IX 15; Pahlv. ور *3 bār.*, Av.

त्रिंशति "thirty", IX, 5, Pahlv *30*, Av

दक्षिण "right", IX, 12 and often, Pahlv. *dašn*, Av

दातृ "creator", IX, 1, 4, Pahlv *datār*, Av.

दिश् "quarter, direction", VIII, 80, Pahlv. *nēmaL*, Av.

दिश् with आ "to direct, to lead"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *frama-mitan*; Av. with 'to go forth, to move about.'

दीनि "religion", IX, 2, Pahlv. *den*; Av.

दुर्गतिन् "wicked", VIII, 80, IX, 13, Pahlv *drvand* Av

देव "demon", IX, 13, Pahlv. *dēv*, Av.

दैत्य "demon", VIII, 80, Pahlv *dēv* Av

द्रुज a transcr of Pahlv. *druj*; Av. f. "demoness", IX, 13.

"two", IX, 13, Pahlv. *dorīn* "twofold"

द्वादश "twelve", IX, 11, Pahlv. 12, Av.

द्वि in comp "two", IX, 6, 9, Pahlv 2, Av.

द्विगुणतरम् advs. "twofold more"?; VIII, 80; Pahlv. 2 *čandān* "twice as much", (written 2-*zangān*?), Av.

धातु "metal"; IX, 10, Pahlv. *šahrēvar*, Av.

धोरय "beast of burden"; IX, 3, Pahlv. *stor*, Av. For meaning *Cf.* Guj.

नमस् "obeisance"; IX, 12; Pahlv. *niyāyišn*; Av.

नर "man"; IX, 2, 3, 4, 5; Pahlv. *nar*; Av.

नव "nine"; IX, 2, 9; Pahlv. 9; Av.

नशामलिन "polluted by the *naśā*"; IX, 12.

नश्वस्त "pollution from the *nasā*";[1] Pahlv. *rist*; Av. "dead", IX, 12;[2] Pahlv. *nasuš*; Av. ; IX, 15 and often.

नासिका "nose"; IX, 16.

नीरंग "formula"; IX, 2; Pahlv. *nīrang*.

न्यायवन्त् "regular"; IX, 6, 7, 9; Pahlv. *snēxōmand*; Av. "icy, frosty."

पश् with उपरि "to approach ?"; IX, 12; It corresponds to *bē ēstātan;* Av. with "to stand."

पक्ष "side"; IX, 12, 14; Pahlv. *nēmak*; Av.

पक्ष दाक्षिण "the right side"; IX, 12; Pahlv. *kōstaktar*; Av. "farthest."

पत् with उपरि and नि "to fall upon"; VIII, 80; Pahlv. *bē rasītan*; Av. with "to arrive at."

पतीत "fallen"; IX, 1.

पद "step"; IX, 9; Pahlv. *pāδ*; Av.

परिमथित "arranged"; IX, 3, 4, 5; Pahlv. *frāč vistart*; Av. "spread out; arranged by spreading."

परिवर्तुलम् adv. "round about"; IX, 11.

परिस्फुटित "broken to pieces"; IX, 11.

पवित्र "pure"; IX, 1, 3; Pahlv. *pāk.*

पवित्रजगातितम "the purest ground"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *yōšdāsr-zamīktom* Av.

पवित्रीकरण "purification"; IX, 2; Pahlv. *yōšdāsrkarīhāh* (adv.); Av.

पशु "animal, cattle"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *pah*; Av.

पश्चात् "afterwards, thereupon"; IX, 6 and often; Pahlv. *pas*; Av.

पश्चात् "behind"; IX, 16; Pahlv. *pas*; Av.

पश्चिम fem. °मा "the last"; IX, 11; Pahlv. *parōntar* Av.

पाताल "under-world; VIII, 80.

पुंचय "wrist"; IX, 15; *Cf.* Guj. પોંચો, પોંચી "wrist"; Mar. पोहंची.

पुण्यता "righteousness, purity", VIII, 79; IX, 3, Pahlv. [illegible] *ahraiδih*, Av. [illegible]

पुण्यमय "righteous", IX, 1, 4, Pahlv. [illegible] *ahrav*, Av. [illegible]

पुण्यावत् "righteous"; IX, 2, 3, 4, 5; Pahlv. [illegible] *ahrav*, Av. [illegible]

पुत्र "son", IX, 3

पुरस् "fore, in front", IX 11, 14, Pahlv [illegible] *pēš*, Av. [illegible]

पृच्छ "to ask", IX, 1, Pahlv. [illegible] *pursidan*, Av. [illegible]

पृष्ठ "back", IX, 16

प्रचुरता "abundance"; IX, 2, Pahlv. [illegible] *frahist*, Av [illegible]

प्रत्यभिमुखम् adv. "against; towards," IX, 16, Pahlv. [illegible] *patiral*, Av. [illegible]

प्रत्युत्तर "response", IX, 12, Pahlv [illegible] *pasox*ᵛ corresponds to Av [illegible]

प्रथम 'first", I, Pahlv [illegible] *fratom*, Av. [illegible], IX, 6, 2, Pahlv [illegible] *pēš*, IX, 9

प्रान्तर ' barren place, desert"? IX, 3

प्रमाण "measure (of distance)", IX, 2, 4, 5, Pahlv [illegible] *gām*, Av [illegible] "step"

प्रक्षात "washed", IX, 15, Pahlv [illegible] *frād šust*, Av [illegible]

प्राप्ति "coming, advent IX 8 9 Pahlv [illegible] *rasišn* Av [illegible] ([illegible])

बन्ध् with नि "to tie, fasten", IX, 14, Pahlv [illegible] *bē bastan*

बारसम the twigs or metal wires used in ceremonies bound together in varying number, IX, 3, 4, Pahlv [illegible] *barsom*, Av [illegible]

बरिसन IX, 5, s बारसम

ब्रू "to say", IX, 2, 5, Pahlv [illegible] *guftan*, Av [illegible]

भाषित "spoken", IX, 2, 14; Pahlv [illegible] *guft*

भुजा "arm", IX, 17, [illegible] *suft*, Av [illegible] "shoulder"

भुवन "world", IX, 1, Pahlv [illegible] *ox*ᵛ, Av [illegible]

भू "to become", IX, 13, Pahlv [illegible] *būtan*

पत् with पाद "to fall down", *VIII*, 80

मया a transcr. of Av. [illegible]; Pahlv. [illegible] *may* "hole", IX, 11, 12

मध्य "middle", IX, 2, मध्यम् adv acc "in". Pahlv [illegible] *andar*, Av [illegible] in [illegible] "he understands"

मनुष्य 'man", IX, 1, Pahlv [illegible] *martōm*, Av [illegible]

मर्यादा "limit"; IX, 2 and often, Pahlv. *drahnā(k)*; Av.

मलिनीभूत "polluted"; IX, 1; Pahlv. *ham-rēmanīh.*

मस्तक "head, skull"; IX, 15; Pahlv. *bālist*; Av.

महत्तर "greater"; [1] Pahlv. *awzūnīk* "increasing"; Av. "the most holy," IX, 1; [2] Pahlv. ibid.; Av. "zeal; striving after," also prop. n., IX, 12.

महाज्ञानिन् "great knowing"; VIII, 80; Pahlv. *mazd* in *ōhrmazd*; Av.

महाराक्षसी "great demoness"; VIII, 80; Pahlv. *parīk*; Av. "sorceress."

माजंदरदेशिय "of the *Mājandara* country"; IX, 13; Pahlv. *māzanīk*; Av.

माज्दइंआर्त्ता "*mazda*-worshipping"; IX, 2; Pahlv. *māzdyasnān*; Av.

मांथ्रवाणी "the word or speech of the *Mānthra*"; IX, 2; Pahlv. *mānsr*; Av.

मांथ्रवाणापृच्छ् "inquiring after the speech of the *Mānthra*"; IX, 2; Pahlv. *mānsr-pursītar*; Av.

माप Guj. માપ "measure"; IX, 6, 9; Pahlv. *nikōnīh*; Av. "depth."

मार्ग "path, way"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *rās*; Av.

मुक्त "left off, released"; IX, 9, 10; Pahlv. *nihēt* "he places."

मुच् with वि "to release; to lay"; VIII, 79; Pahlv. *burtan*; Av. "to carry."

मूर्धन "head"; IX, 16.

मूलक "root"; IX, 16; Pahlv. *stūnak* "pillar"? "neck" (Jámasp Asa)?

मृत "dead"; IX, 1; Pahlv. *rist*, Av.

मृत्तिका "earthenware"; IX, 11; Pahlv. *zamīk.*

मैनोविलोक्य "spiritual"; IX, 1; Pahlv. *mēnūk*; Av.

य masc.; या fem. "who, which"; VIII, 80; Pahlv. *kē*; Av. masc. , fem.

यत्र "where"; IX, 16; Pahlv. *ku.*

यथा for यत्र "where"; IX, 15; Pahlv. *čand* "how many?"

यदि "if"; IX, 14; Pahlv. *hakar*; Av.

यादि "upto"?; IX, 15; Pahlv. *tāk.*

[illegible] "up to", IX, 15, 16, Pahlv [illegible] *tal*

[illegible] fem. "as much as", IX, 6, 9, Pahlv [illegible] *cand*, Av. [illegible]

[illegible] adv. "as much as", IX, 8 and often, Pahlv [illegible] *cand* Av. [illegible]

[illegible] caus. [illegible], "to draw a line", with [illegible] or [illegible], caus. ibid., IX, 10 and often, Pahlv. [illegible] *kištan* "to sow, to cultivate." It is here used to signify "to make furrows" (with a plough), Av. [illegible] with [illegible], caus.

[illegible] "streak, line, furrow", IX, 10 and often, Pahlv [illegible] *kiš*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] "forehead", IX, 16.

[illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] "to regard, to look upon", IX, 1, Pahlv [illegible] *kam ditan*, Av [illegible] with [illegible]

[illegible] "eye", IX, 16

[illegible] "iron", IX, 14, Pahlv. [illegible] *asēnēn* Av [illegible]

[illegible] "bamboo", IX, 14, Pahlv. [illegible] *grov*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] inf. "to say", IX, 2, Pahlv [illegible] *guftan*

[illegible] "speaker", IX, 2, Pahlv. [illegible] *guftar*; Av [illegible] "word"

[illegible] "word", IX, 12, Pahlv [illegible] *saxvan*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] with [illegible] caus. "to speak", IX, 12, Pahlv [illegible] *guftan*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] a defective transcr of Av. [illegible] "lead", Pahlv [illegible] *sryban*, IX, 15 and often

[illegible] "block of wood", IX, 11, Pahlv [illegible] *candur* (Hoshang: *bandur* "dried up earth clods, gravel"), Av [illegible]

[illegible] "tree, plant", VIII, 79, Pahlv [illegible] *urvar*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] "or", VIII, 79, Pahlv [illegible] *ayap*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] "speech, word", IX, 2

[illegible] "wind", VIII, 80, Pahlv [illegible] *vat*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] "left", IX, 15 and often, Pahlv [illegible] *hoy*, Av [illegible]

[illegible] "time", IX, 15, (Pahlv. [illegible] *bār*)

[illegible] "outstretched arm" used as a linear measure, IX, 2 Pahlv. [illegible] *yut nas*, in this case a reed was used instead of the outstretched arm, Av [illegible] "fathom"

[illegible] "Strewn, loose", IX, 11, Pahlv [illegible] *visp* ?, Av. [illegible]

विगत "devoid of"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *yut*; Av.

विगतजलतम "the most devoid of water"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *yut-āptom*; Av.

विगतवनस्पातितम "the most devoid of plants"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *yut-urvartom*; Av.

विजन "devoid of man, separated (from man)"; IX, 11; Pahlv. *yut*; Av.

विभिन्नविभिन्न adv. ? "Separately"; IX, 15

विभ्रमकार "causing confusion"; IX, 13. Av. name of a country; cf. *Bthl.* Air Wb. 1372.

विभ्रमत "turned"; IX, 17; Pahlv. *gašt*

विमंत "separated"; IX, 11; Pahlv. *yut*; Av.

विश् with उपरि "to sit down upon"; IX, 12; Pahlv. *rasītan*; Av.

विश्व "all"; IX, 13; Pahlv. *harvispēn*; Av.

विस्तारिन् "extending, large, broad"; IX, 17.

वृत् with वि and आ "to separate"; व्यावृत्य IX, 11.

व्याम "fathom" Guj. વામ; IX, 2.
व्यास "width, breadth"; IX, 17.

शक् "to be able"; शक्यते pass; IX, 2; Pahlv. *tuvān* with gen.

शरीर "body"; IX, 1; Pahlv. *tan*; Av.

शरीरिन् "animal"; lit "possessing body"; IX, 1, 4; Pahlv. *gēhān*; Av.

शस्त्र "weapon"; IX, 13; Pahlv. *snēh*; Av. inf. "in order to smite."

शाकिनी "demoness"; she is often mentioned with डाकिनी in the Jaina literature; VIII, 80; Pahlv. *yātūk*; Av. masc. "sorcerer."

शिरस् "head"; IX, 15.

शिला "stone"; IX, 6 and often; Pahlv. *maγ*; Av. "hole."

शुष्क "dry"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *hušk*; Av.

शुष्कजगतीतम "driest ground"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *hušk-zamīktom*; Av.

षट् "six"; IX, 11; Pahlv. *6*; Av.

स masc., सा fem. 3 person.

सत्य "true, truth"; IX, 2; Pahlv. *rāst*; Av.

समग्र "whole"; IX, 15; Pahlv. *harvisp*; Av.

समिध् "fuel", IX, 11, Pahlv [illegible] *xumb* "a broken piece of earthen ware, potsherd" (*Hoshangji* 140), *Bthl* takes it as a corruption of [illegible] *sumb*; Av [illegible] "hoof"

सामिधि "fuel", VIII 79, Pahlv [illegible] *ēsm*, Av [illegible]

समुदित "grown", IX, 15, 16, Pahlv. [illegible] *rust*

संपूर्णमनस्ता "complete mindedness", IX, 12

सम्मुखम् adv "opposite, in front, of, before", IX, 16, Pahlv [illegible] *patiraḱ*, Av [illegible]

सहनस्रु "polluted by (lit with) the *nasrū*, i e, dead impurity", IX, 1, Pahlv. [illegible] *ham-nasuš*, Av. [illegible]

सहस्रगुणम् adv "thousandfold", VIII, 80, Pahlv [illegible] *1000 ynišnih*, Av [illegible] adj "killing thousand"

सिच् caus सेचय "to sprinkle, pour", IX, 14 and often, Pahlv [illegible] *āšinjitan*, Av [illegible]

सिदीका "?", IX, 11, Pahlv [illegible] *kapāraḱ* "unarable land" (*Hoshangji*), or *kuvārak* "an earthen pot," MP كوارة (Sanjana)

सीसक "lead", IX, 14, Pahlv [illegible] *sraten*, Av [illegible]

सुगन्धि "fragrance", VIII, 80, Pahlv. [illegible] *bōδ*, Av [illegible]

सुगन्धितम "the most fragrant", VIII, 79, Pahlv [illegible] *hubōδ tom*, Av [illegible]

सूर्यनिरीक्ष "exposure to the Sun"; IX, 17

सृ with अप "to creep, to move aside", caus "to remove", IX, 3

स्थिमत् "material", IX, 1, Pahlv [illegible] *astomand*, Av [illegible]

स्कन्ध "shoulder", IX, 17

स्तन "chest, breast", IX, 15, 17

स्तृ with वि "to scatter", VIII, 80, Pahlv [illegible] *bē burtan*, Av [illegible] with [illegible]

स्थान "place", IX, 16, Pahlv [illegible] *gyāḱ*

स्थूल "thick", IX, 15, 16

स्ना with प्र and caus प्रस्नापय "to wash", IX, 15, Pahlv [illegible] *fraδ šostan*, Av [illegible] with [illegible]

स्नान "washing", IX, 15

स्पितम prop n VIII, 79, IX, 2; Pahlv [illegible] *spitamān*, Av. [illegible]

स्पिंदार्मद prop n IX 12, Pahlv. [illegible] *spendarmat*, Av [illegible]

स्फा caus. स्फावय and स्फीतय "to fatten; to fill up to overflowing." IX, 11.

स्वामिन् "lord"; VIII, 80; Pahlv; *ōhr*–in *ōhrmazd*; Av.

स्वीय "own"; IX, 15; Pahlv. *xᵛēš*; Av.

स्वेद "moisture; perspiration"; IX, 3; Pahlv. *nam*; *namb*.

हंतृ "smiter, killer"; IX, 13; Pahlv. *davāk*; Av.

हस्त "hand"; IX, 15; Pahlv. *dast*; Av.

हि interj. "verily truly"; IX, 5, 16.

हिंसाशस्त्रिन् "having a deadly weapon"; IX, 13; Pahlv. *xrudruš*; Av. "wooden weapon; bludgeon."

हिमकाल "winter"; IX, 6, 9; Pahlv. *zamistān* Av.

हीनवावनस्पति "the *hīnavā*-plant"; VIII, 79; Pahlv. *haδanapāē*; Av.; Gujv. દાડમનું ઝાડ pomegranate tree."

हे interj. IX, 1.

ZAOTA,

BY PROF KARL F GELDNER

Translated by J M Unvala, Ph D

It is an old problem among the Indian savants from which verbal root the name of their chief sacrificing priest *Hotṛ* (nom sing *hotā*) is derived *Hotṛ* in the fully developed ritual is the priest whose duty it was to recite the Hymns and to utter the formulæ of invocation and consecration during the sacrifice It was therefore for the Indians not a long step to take to bring this activity of the *Hotâ* in consonance with its etymology and to derive the word *hotṛ* from the root *hû—hve* "to call to invite" This is the etymology given by Yâska the father of the Indian etymology in his *Nirukta* 7 15 He says there that *hotâ* is properly speaking the *hvatâ* but adds that one of his predecessors *Aurunavabha* derives *hotṛ* from *hu juhoti* "to sacrifice" The latter derivation is, undoubtedly correct, although it stands in a certain con tradiction to the real function of the *Hotṛ* Already the *Aitareya Brâhmana* says 1 2 They raise an objection "When the other (the *Adhvaryu*) sacrifices (*juhoti*) why is he who recites the invocation and sacrificial verses called *Hotâ* (one who sacrifices) ?"

If we go backwards from the time of the *Brahmanas* to that of the *Rigveda* the clear description of the activity and the division of work of the sacrificing priest is of course, missing here as we find in the later ritual books But broadly speaking the duties of the *Hotâ* and of the *Adhvaryu* were already at that time the same as later on The *Hotâ* was the chief priest who had to care for the recitation during the sacrifice and for the hymn whereas the *Adhvaryu* had to look after the offerings and offered them The *hotâ yajati* i e consecrates utter the formula of consecration or recites the hymn of consecration (RV 1, 139 10) and he invokes the gods (*â johaviti* 7 56 18) whereas the *Adhvaryu juhoti* ' sacrifices ' (RV 2 14 8 9) Thus the appearance is in favour of the derivation *hû = hve* to call "and this must have found a footing in the linguistic feeling (Sprachgefühl) But it is only the appearance in its favour Pure linguistic reasons already recommend the derivation *hu* "to sacrifice" We get an impression from several passages of the *Rigveda* as if the functions of the *Hotâ* and the

Adhvaryu were not so strictly separated in the simple ritual as in the later period. The *Hotṛ* appears sometimes as that, which the etymology says, as the *sacrificing priest.* Thus it is said in 2, 13, 3 : "the one (the *Hotâ*) accompanies with words that, which he offers (sacrifices)." And the *Hotâ* comes sometimes thus in the foreground, so that his first assistant—he was originally the *Adhvaryu*—is forgotten beside him or was not at all existing. I refer only to RV. 3, 41, 2.

The word *Hotâ* was, of course, not at all formed on the Indian soil, but it is a legacy of the Indo-Iranian period. Zarathuśtra has taken up the word in his religion from the Arian culture. Two priests are active during the great *Yasna* ceremony in later Zoroastrianism, the *Zôt* (*Zaota=Skr. hòtâ*) and the *Râspî* (*=Skr. ṛtvij*). The *Zôt* is the chief priest, who recites the holy texts, especially the *Gâthâs,* and performs the most important sacrificial ceremonies, whereas the *Rāspî* helps him as his assistant in both and also during certain recitations or completes them.[1] If the necessary autopsy of the ceremonies of the modern Parsis is missing, it is supplied now excellently by the lucid and exhaustive work of J. J. Modi : "The religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (1922).[2] While Justi and Darmesteter derive the word *Zaota* from the root *Zu* "to call," Modi supports on p. 79 the derivation from *zu*=Skr. *hu, juhoti ;* and herein he is, of course, right. But if he says on p. 202, that *Zaota* literally means "the performer of ceremonies or the offerer of offerings," only the second meaning is etymologically correct. *Zaota* is from the very beginning the sacrificing priest, in whose sphere of activity comes everything, that had developed in course of time around the proper sacrificial offering. But the verbal root *zu*= Skr. *hu,* lying at its bottom, was lost to the Iranian branch, and with good reason. While in India the word *hôtâ* was finally brought into relation with the root *hû* "to call" according to the linguistic feeling (Sprachgefühl), because the function of the proper sacrificing priest was transferred to another priest, the root *zu=hu* came into disuse in Iranian, because the particular sense "to sacrifice in fire" was connected with it. *Hu* is Greek χέω ("to pour"), *hutá* χυτός and *āhutá* is used in the *Rigveda* especially of the *Agni,* which is besprinkled with sacrificial butter (ghee). The custom of offering the sacrifice in the sacrificial fire

---

[1] The author thinks most probably of the responses. (Translator.)

[2] The *gewrâ* ceremony mentioned in this work—p. 202, by which the consecration of—for the—priestly dignity is obtained, is possibly understood by *gravasca* of Y. 9, 26.—What Modi says about the Haoma plant on the authority of a competent botanist on p. 303 is very important for Indologists.

may have been prevalent also in Iran before Zarathustra It has remained current in India Here most of the sacrificial offerings reach the gods through the mouth of the sacrificial fire Only a part of the *Soma* and certain sacrificial offerings are enjoyed by the priest himself The Parsis do not sacrifice to the fire but the *Haoma* as well as the consecrated *Darun*—bread are partaken of by the priests present during the ceremony [1] Comp Modi, *ibid* pp 299 317 325 West Sacred Books of the East V, 284 The information of Strabo (15 3 13) on the sacrifice of the Magians concurs with it The ceremonial tasting of the sacrificial bread and of the *Haoma*, which served the place of the offering by the priests is called *Chashni* (Modi, *ibid* 298, 362) This *Chāshni* corresponds to the mouth-offering of the Indians, in this that every way of feeding or presenting the brahmans was included in it Thus Manu 7, 84 says: "Better than all *Agnihotras* is that, which is sacrificed in the mouth of the brahman It does not overflow, it does not fall aside, and it is never lost." The offering of the sacrificial bread etc, in the Sraosha Bāj is considered according to Modi *ibid* p 363 by the Parsis also as a payment to be deducted from the honorarium of the priest

Now, although the root *zu* "to sacrifice" has come into disuse still there is a passage, which proves that this etymon was considered existing in the word *zaota* This is the much discussed passage Yasna 11, 1 Three righteous creatures are enumerated in it, who give vent in curses, when they do not fulfill their proper purpose The second and the third paragraphs are clear The horse wishes to be ridden in a race, and curses him who does not ride it The *Haoma* wishes to be drunk, and does not wish to be kept back (from this purpose), when once prepared On account of this third injunction, this whole passage is taken up in the *Hom Yašt* of the Yasna But the cow curses—the *Zaotar* Who is this *Zaotar?* Bartholomae—sees in him the representative of the priestly class, whereas Darmesteter sees in the three cursed ones the three classes, the agriculturer, the warrior and the priest He, therefore, goes back to Neriosengh's explanation of the word *Zaotarem* by *grhītaram* "one who holds," whereas Justi translates it by "the driver" and K. E Kanga "his driver or master" Now *zaotarem* in 1 is parallel to *bašarem* in 2 and to *hvašarem* in 3, *bāšar* (for *bartar*) and *hvāšar* (for *xvartar*) mean here clearly "who ought to ride, who ought to drink," respectively and not "who rides, who drinks" respectively We have, therefore, no proper agentive noun in the usual sense, but the formations in *tar* have here rather the

1 Only the *zōt* partakes of them during the ceremony Afterwards these are distributed among the faithful, whether priests or laymen (Translator)

sense of a future participle, like that of the periphrastic future of Skr. *dâtâsmi*, "I shall give." And thus *zaotârem* must also be understood. It signifies "he who ought to sacrifice (but does not sacrifice)." The cow wishes, therefore, according to this naïve poetical conception not only to serve as food, but also to give its share for the divine service Thus, I believe, the words in Yasna 11, 1 obtain a better sense :

gâuš zaotârem zavaiti
uta buyâo afrazaiñtiš
uta dêuš-sravâo hacimnô
yô mãm h^{v}âstãm nôit bakšhahi
âat mãm tûm fšaonayehe
nâiryâo vâ puthrahe vâ
haoyâo vâ maršuyâo.

"The cow curses him, who ought to sacrifice : Thou shouldst be childless and followed by evil fame, who dost not share me when cooked, but uses me as food for thy wife, for thy son, or for thy own belly."

The sense of *Zaotârem* is paraphrased by the following *bakhsahi*,[1] as in 2 that of *bâšar* by *yōmãm zãvare nōit jaidhyehi.* Then *bakhsahi* expresses the *Châshni* connected with the offering.

Still there arises another question : What does the cow wish to give or what ought she to give as the offering, her meat or, what seems to be nearer the mark, according to my idea, her milk, because the cow will not, of course, wish, according to the fiction of the poet, her own slaughter ? *Gao* is, according to the ancient idiom, the cow and everything that the cow provides, milk or meat. Thus the expression *mãm h^{v}āstãm* remains doubtful. Is it the same as *gâm hvâstem* Vend. 5, 52, 7, 55 ? Darmesteter understands in the first passage "milk," in the second "meat," whereas Bartholomae in both these passages translates it by "meat." The Pehl. version has both times *bisraya* (*gûšt*) "meat." This Pehl. expression is explained by the Dasturs differently, comp. for it Dastur Hoshang Jamasp's Glossarial Index to Vendidad, p. 55. I know how to value the grounds on which the attempt has been made to reject "meat" as the interpretation of the word, meat being repugnant to the feeling. But *bisraya* means nothing else and hence the Pehl. version is incorrect. The question draws in its circle

---

[1] I ought to take this and *bakhšahe* as variant according to Pt. 4. I had at first undervalued the excellent manuscript of Dastur Peshotanji.

other passages What is *gāum gaozastō* Vend. 3, 1; yašt 10, 91 *gaomata zasta* yašt 13, 50, *myazdem gaomantem* Vend. 8, 22 and finally what is meant by the often mentioned combination *gaomavaiti zaothra* side by side with *haomavaiti* in Yasna 68, 1; 66, 1; 22, 2; Yašt 5, 8, 63; Vend. 14, 4; 18, 72? Whereas Justi following Spiegel translates it everywhere by "meat," thus according to *bisraya* (*gōšt*) of the Pahl. version, the later translators like Darmesteter and Bartholomae render the word by "milk of the cow." Milk in connection with *Zaothra*, seems to be more suitable whether *Zaothra* may be taken in a broader sense of "offering that should be drunk" or in a restricted one of "consecrated water" (*cf.* Modi *ibid.* p. 310). It seems that the milk-offering enjoyed greater importance in earlier period than in the later one when milk was used only by drops (Darmesteter I, LXVI) or at least in small quantity. One may consider especially what Modi has said, *ibid.* p. 290. At any rate Strabo informs us only of the meat offering of the Magians.—But in connection with *hrāsta* a sharp difference is to be made according to the gender of the word *gām hrāstem* is cooked *beef*, but *mām* (*i.e.*, *gām*) *hrāstām* is cooked *milk of the cow*. The discussed passage in Yasna 11 contains, thus, a strict injunction to the priest, that that which is from the cow and is fixed for the offering is to be nicely distributed among other priests and among those who take part in the sacrifice, and not to be used for his own household. It forms at the same time a parallel to the warning given in 11, 5 and the following.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THE RELIGION AND LITERATURE OF THE ZOROASTRIANS DURING THE DIFFERENT EPOCHS OF HISTORY,

By Shavaksha Sorabsha Dalal, B.A.

Chronologically we make a fourfold division of our subject —

1. Classical period
2. Middle ages
3. Georgian period, commencing from the beginning of the XVIIIth century to the first quarter of the XIXth century (1700 A D to about 1825 A D)
4. Modern times, commencing from the second quarter of the XIXth century to the present day

1 Classical Period

Enquiries into the religion of Persia began long ago and it was the old foe of Persia the Greek who first studied it

Among the Greek philosophers, historians travellers and others, who devoted their attention to the study of this subject we notice the names of —

Herodotus (484—425 B C),

Prodicus the Gnostic of Ceos (465 or 450 B C)

Aristotle (385 B C)

Theopompus (380 B C)

Hermippus (who flourished during the Peloponnesian wars)

Pausanias (second century A D)

Xanthus

Dinon

Hermodorus

Heraclides Cumanus

Agathias of Myrina (536—582 A D)

Procopius (the Byzantine Historian who flourished towards the end of the 5th Century A D)

Hierocles (430 A D)

The subject was studied more eagerly in the first century of the Christian era than it was in the preceding centuries; however, that later study had no longer anything of the disinterested and almost scientific character in the earlier times. Religious and philosophic sects (Neoplatonists, Gnostics, etc.), in search of new dogmas, early received whatever came to them in the name of Zoroaster. On the whole, it is said (1) that in the first centuries of Christianity, the religion of Persia was more studied and less understood than it had ever been before. The real object aimed at, in studying the old religion, was to form a new one.

REPORTS OF GREEKS, ROMANS, ARMENIANS AND MAHOMEDANS.

To the whole ancient world Zoroaster's lore was best known by the name of the doctrine of the Magi, which denomination was commonly applied to the priests of India, Persia and Babylonia.

The earliest mention of them is made by the prophet Jeremiah (XXXIX-3) who enumerated among the retinue of king Nebuchadnezzar, at his entry into Jerusalem, the " Chief of the Magi " (Rob Mag in Hebrew), from which statement we may distinctly gather that Magi exercised a great influence at the Court of Babylonia. (600 B.C.)

In the Old Testament there is only one hint regarding their religion (Ezekiel viii-16, 17).

The Magi occur even in the New Testament. In the Gospel, according to St. Mathew (ii-1), the Magi (Greek Magoi, " wise men ") came from the East to Jerusalem, to worship the new born child, Jesus, at Bethlehem. That these Magi were priests of the Zoroastrian religion we know from Greek writers.

The earliest account of the religion of the Magi among the Greeks is to be found in Herodotus, the father of History (450 B.C.)—(Herodotus chap : cxxxi, cxxxii)—The chief Greek writers on the manners and religion of the Persians were Ktesias (400 B.C.), the well known physician to king Artaxerxes II, Deinon (350 B.C.), Theopompos of Chios (300 B.C.) and Hermippus, the philosopher of Smyrna (250 B.C.). The books of all these authors are lost except some fragments preserved by later authors such as Plutarch (De Iside et Osiride—on Isis and Osiris), Diogenes of Laërte (Proœmium), and Pliny. Hence we cannot correctly judge how far these writers were acquainted with the religion of the Magi. The eighth book of the history of king Philip of Macedonia,

"On miraculous things," by Theopompos, and Hermippos's work "On the Magi," were the two chief sources of information about the religion of the Magi, for the Greeks and the Romans

It is reported by Pliny (in his Hostoria Naturalis, xxx 2) that Hermippos had made very laborious investigations in all the Zoroastrian books which were said to comprise two millions of verses, and to have stated the content of each book separately He, therefore, really seems to have had some knowledge of the sacred language and texts of the Magi for which reason the loss of his work is greatly to be regretted

Strabo, the geographer (60 B C), has given in the 15th book of his celebrated geography an account of the religion and customs of the Magi

Pausanias, the celebrated Greek traveller (180 A D), has the following report on the fire worship of the Magi (V 27, 3) "In the temples of the Persians there is a room where ashes of another colour than those being burnt on the Altar are to be found To this room he first repairs, puts dry wood upon the Altar, puts on the tiara, and then sings the invocation of the God, reading it from a book, in a language utterly unintelligible to the Greeks. The wood is to be ignited on the ashes without fire, and to flame up into a bright blaze"

Dio Chrysostoms (130 A D) has left to us, in his sermons, some remarks on the theological ideas of the Magi

The Historian Agathias (500 A D) ii—24 also wrote about Zoroaster

Among later Greek writers who wrote on the primitive principles of Zoroastrian Theology we may mention Damascius ("On Primitive Principles"—125th P 384 Ed Kopp), and—Theodorus of Mopsenstia

Among Armenian writers on Zoroastrianism may be mentioned (1) Eznik and Elisaeus, who flourished in the fifth century A D

Passing on to Mahomedan writers who lived after the conquest of Persia by the Mahomedans—650 A D, we get important information from Masudi (Arabian Historian and Traveller 950 A D, and Shah rastani, who lived at Bagdad 1153 A D—('On religious sects and creeds' Kitâbu l millal wa na'hal)

2 Middle Ages

In the middle ages, people had dim and erroneous notions of Zo roaster and the Avesta Zoroaster was looked upon as a Magus, or a magician or a master of hidden sciences

Since the Renaissance, real enquiry into the subject was resumed. The first step was to gather together all possible information from Greek and Roman writers. The task was undertaken, and successfully completed, by Barnabé Brisson (De regio Persarum principatu libri tres. Paris 1590. The second book of this work is devoted to the religion and manners of the ancient Persians).

A near approach to the original source was made by the Italian, English and French travellers, in Persia and India, who met the followers of Zoroaster, studied the manners, customs and main features of their beliefs and made them known to Europe. Henry Lord, Mandelslo, Ovington, Chardin, Gabriel du Chinon and Tavernier, were explorers in the field of these studies during the period.

3. GEORGIAN PERIOD.

From 1700 A.D. to about 1831 (from the time of Thomas Hyde to that of Eugene, Burnouf), somewhat more earnest attention was paid to the study of the Avesta. However, some of the students engaged in these studies, during this period, doubted the authenticity and antiquity of the Avesta. There were two schools of opposite views and heated controversies ensued between the students of both the schools of thought.

The first Avestan text which Europe obtained was a Ms. of the Yasna,[1] carried in 1633 to Canterbury by an unknown Englishman, who had received it from a rich Indian of the name of Namaby Moodie,[2] Thomas Hyde (1700 A.D.), the greatest Orientalist of his time, was the first to make a systematic attempt to restore the history of the old Persian Religion by combining the accounts of the Mahomedan writers with the more correct and genuine accounts given by Parsi writers in Persian books like the Sad-Dar, etc. (Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia—Oxford 1700). Eighteen years later, George Boucher received from the Parsis in Surat a copy of the Vendidad Sadah. It was carried to England in 1723 by Richard Cobbe. However, as a sealed book, it remained hung, by an iron chain, to the wall of the Bodleian Library. A few years later, a Scotchman, named Fraser, made two attempts to obtain from the Parsis of Surat their sacred books, and some knowledge of their contents. He was able to procure from Surat the Yasna and the Yashts, but he failed in his attempts to get knowledge.

---

1 Harley's introduction to the Avesta, Prof. P. A. Wadia's translation.

2 He is Nanabhai Mody of Surat who died in 1667, *vide* Parsi Prakash, Vol. I, p. 15.

In 1754 a young Frenchman, twenty years old Anquetil Du Perron a scholar of the Ecole des Langues Orientales in Paris happening to see a facsimile of four leaves of the Oxford Vendidad which had been sent from England a few years before to Etienne Fourmont the Orientalist determined to give to France both the books of Zoroaster and the first European translation of them He left Paris on the 7th November 1754 arrived at the town of L Orient on 16th November 1754 and finally left France at Port Louis on 24 February 1755 in the ship Le Duc d Aquitaine He came to Surat after three years of adventures and wanderings in the beginning of May 1758 He then stayed in Surat for three years He got from Dastur Darab (Kumana) the sacred books of the Parsis and some knowledge of the same He returned to Paris on 14 March 1764 and deposited on the following day *at the Bibliothèque Royale* the whole of the *Zend* Avesta and copies of most of the traditional books (Bundehesh the Farhang i ouym Hadok (Hadokht) the Rivayets etc) He spent seven years in studying the materials he had collected and published in 1771 the first European translation of the Zend Avesta (Zend Avesta ouvrage de Zoroastre Par M Anquetil Du Perron 3 Vols in 4to, Paris 1771)[1]

About the same time Dr Guise also collected numerous manuscripts which ultimately went to the India Library at London A new, and not any the less important harvest was gathered at Bombay by Rask who endowed the capital of Denmark with fruits of his researches Finally Dr Martin Haug during his sojourn at Poona won the friendship of the Parsis obtained from them new and extensive information on their religious customs and collected rich materials in the shape of manuscripts which he preserved till his death and which, since then have been bought by the Bavarian Government We find in this last collection manuscripts of the Avesta, with Pahlavi translation, the Pahlavi version with a Persian translation the Nirangistan, the *Aogamadaecha and other valuable works* The principal centres of Avestan collections, are thus, Paris London, Copenhagen and Munich At Copenhagen are some of the earliest of these manuscripts There are also some old manuscripts at Oxford Cambridge and Canterbury The Oxford (Bodleian) manuscripts were collected mostly by Ouseley Some of them came from Persia others from India

Anquetil and the Avesta found an eager champion in the person of Kleuker Professor in the University of Riga As soon as the French

[1] *For the account of* Anquetil *see* Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab by Dr Jivanji Jamshedji Mody

version of the Avesta appeared, he published a German translation of it, and also Anquetil's historical dissertations. Then, in a series of dissertations of his own, he vindicated the authority of the Zend Avesta (Anhang Zum Zend Avesta, 2 Vols. in 4to, 1781).

Another staunch upholder of the Avesta was the Numismatologist, Tychsen. In his "Commentatio prior observationes historico criticas de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et placitis exhibens" Goettingen, in the Novi Comment. Soc. Reg. 1791, he says, "There is nothing in it but what befits remote ages, and a man philosophising on the infancy of the world....The antiquity of the language is established by the fact that it was necessary to translate a part of the Zend books into Pahlavi, a language which was growing obsolete, as early as the time of the Sassanides. Lastly, it cannot be denied that Zoroaster left books, which were, through centuries, the ground work of the Magic religion, and which were preserved by the Magi, as shown by a series of documents from the time of Hermippus. Therefore, I am unable to see why we should not trust the Magi of our days when they ascribe to Zoroaster those traditional books of their ancestors, in which nothing is found to indicate fraud or a modern hand.'

In 1793, Sylvestre de Sacy, published a book, in Paris, in which the Pahlavi inscriptions of the first Sassanides were deciphered for the first time and in a decisive manner. This was the first step taken to make the authenticity of the Avesta incontrovertible.

About the same time, Sir William Jones, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he had just founded, resumed in a discourse, delivered before that Society, the same question, he had solved, in such an off hand manner twenty years before. His views were now somewhat changed. A glance at the Zend glossary published by Anquetil suggested to him the similarity between the two Aryan languages, Sanskrit and Zend. This was a step onwards in further researches.

In 1798, Father Paulo de St. Barthèlemy further developed Jones's remark in an essay on the antiquity of the Zend language, (De antiquitate et affinitate linguae samscredamicae et germanicae, Rome 1798). He showed the affinity of the Zend with the Sanskrit by a list of such Zend and Sanskrit words as were least likely to be borrowed.. "Were it but a recent compilation," he writes, "as Jones asserts, how is it that the oldest rites of the Parsis, that the oldest inscriptions of the Persians, the accounts of the Zoroastrian religion in the classical writers, the liturgic prayers of the Parsis, and lastly, even their books do not reveal the pure Sanskrit, as written in the land wherein the

Parsis live, but a mixed language, which is as different from the other dialects of India as French is from Italian ?" This amounted in fact to saying that the Zend is not derived from the Sanskrit, but both are derived from another and older language.

The first twenty five years of the nineteenth century were void of results, but the old and sterile discussions, as to the authenticity of the texts continued in England In 1808 John Leyden regarded Zend as a Prakrit dialect, parallel to Pali, Pali being identical with the Magadhi dialect, and Zend with the Saurasени In the eyes of Erskine, Zend was a Sanskrit dialect, imported from India, by the founders of Mazdeism, but never spoken in Persia

In Germany, Meiners had found no followers The Theologians appealed to the Avesta in their polemics, and Rhode sketched the religious history of Persia after the translations of Anquetil.

Erskine's essay provoked a decisive answer from Emmanuel Rask, one of the most gifted minds in the new school of philology, who had the honour of being the precursor of both Grimm and Burnouf

The Essay published in 1831 by Peter von Bohlen on the origin of the Zend language threw the matter 40 years back According to him, Zend is a Prakrit dialect, as it had been pronounced by Jones, Leyden, and Erskine

At last came Burnouf Eugene Burnouf (1825) with the aid of the Sanskrit translation of the Yasna, made in the XVth century by Nerioseng Dhaval, succeeded in tracing the general outline of the Zend Lexicon, and fixing its grammatical forms, and founded the only correct method of interpreting the Avesta He also gave the first notions of the comparative mythology of the Avesta and the Veda, by showing the identity of the Vedic Yama with the Avesta Yima, and of Traitâna with Thraêtaona and Feridûn (Commentaire sur le Yaçna)

At the same time, the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered by Burnouf in Paris by Lassen in Bonn, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson in Persia Thus was revealed the existence, at the time of the first Achæmenian kings, of a language closely connected with that of the Avesta, and the last doubts as to the authenticity of the Zend books were, at length, removed

While these controversies were going on in Europe, for nearly 300 years, from 847 Y Z (1478 A C) to 1142 Y Z (1773 A C) the Parsis

of the important centres of Navsari, Surat, Broach and Cambay, were sending missions to, and receiving missions from, their co-religionists in Persia. In the letters exchanged between them they received valuable information on questions of which they were either ignorant, or regarding which they had doubts. These letters or Revayets, as they were called, form part of a very important literature. These Revayets are very important from several points of view. (1) They throw light on several religious questions raised by the Parsis of India. (2) They throw some light on the Parsi History. (3) They help us in fixing some dates in Parsi History. (4) They help us in tracing the existence of some old Parsi families, and the names of the leading members of these families. The number of these letters or Revayets is 26. These Revayets are dealt with critically by Principal S. H. Hodivala, M.A., in his "Studies in Parsi History" (pp. 276-349).

Since this time, students and enquirers sailed on quieter waters, and we come to our own times or :—

4. Modern Period.

Iranian scholars progressed rather smoothly and harmoniously in the field of Research work. Comparative Philology, comparative Mythology, travels and archæological excavations broadened the mental horizon of scholars, and supplied them with fresh materials, and fresh thoughts, and the religion and literature of the Zoroastrians saw more and more the light of the civilised world.